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ABSTRACT

To determine what effect marriage deferment might have on the ability of both sexes to achieve higher educational levels and, therefore, possibly higher occupational status, the study examined socioeconomic status, attitudes toward future educational and occupational attainments, actual educational and occupational attainments, and desired marriage age among 1052 black and white rural youths of both sexes in five southern states. The study used longitudinal data collected under the auspices of the Southern Youth Study in 1966, 1968, and 1972. The four-stage analysis examined the relationship between social origin and marriage deferment; the influence on marriage deferment of adolescent attitudes on education, occupation and marriage; and the consequences of marriage deferment on early adult achievement attitudes and attainment. The findings imply that marriage deferment is not determined by social class, that marriage deferment has a possible effect on achievement attainment, that the relationship of achievement attitudes and marriage deferment differs by race, and that the achievement attitudes for females are significantly depressed by early marriage. Although the results cannot be generalized to all populations, the study has both practical and theoretical applications. (SB)

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A Thesis

by

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MARRIAGE DEFERMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT: ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES AMONG RURAL YOUTH

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

Marriage Deferment and Achievement: Antecedents and Consequences Among Rural Youth. (December 1978).

Billie Sue Sanchez, B.A., Texas A&M University

Chairman of Advisory Committee: Dr. Arthur G. Cosby

This research investigates the effect of marriage deferment, within the educational and occupational achievement process, on young black and white rural youth from the deep South. This was done by examining antecedents to and consequences of martial deferment during adolescence and early adulthood within the context of a life cycle perspective.

The study used longitudinal data which was collected under the auspices of the Southern Youth Study. One thousand and fifty-two black and white young people from the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Texas are included. Questionnaires were administered in 1966 when participants were sophomores in high school, in 1968 when they were seniors in high school and again in 1972, approximately four years after their high school graduation.

The first portion of the analysis examined the relationship between social origins and marriage deferment. Social origins were found to be of a minimal influence on marriage deferment of panel participants. Out of twelve possible relationships only one proved to be significant. However, in the second phase of the analysis adolescent attitudes and marriage plans had more influence on marriage deferment especially for white panel participants. Analysis indicated that adolescent achievement attitudes and marital deferment were bound together for whites, while the two appeared to be independent for blacks. Relationships between adolescent marriage plans and marriage deferment were significant for all race and sex groups.

In the third portion of analysis, patterns indicated that early adult achievement attitudes were closely linked to the marital deferment decision of whites. For blacks, aspirations acted independently of marital deferment but expectations appeared to be influenced by marital deferment. The final phase examined the consequences of marriage deferment on early adult educational and occupational attainments. Here it was found that marriage deferment and attainments were linked for all groups.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

For many years American social scientists have been interested in gathering knowledge concerning the relationship between life cycle stages and attainment of educational and occupational status. The first studies of this type focused on what Haller and Portes (1973) have labeled the attitude-formation concept of occupational choice (for a review of over 500 studies concerning the concept of attitude-formation see Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970a, 1970b). A more recent trend in sociology has been to use a life cycle perspective. This approach focuses on a person's involvement in the social system and on the processes involved in achieving status within society. It is also concerned with how new roles are taken on and how old ones are discarded (Bates and Harvey, 1975). Such studies provide an understanding of the influences of social origins on later attainments as well as the effect of various factors which intervene at different points between social origins and subsequent attainments.

It has been found that as young people age they form attitudes toward their eventual life plans. These life plans appear to focus around two central areas: (1) education and career plans; and (2) marriage and family plans (Bayer, 1969a). With these two concepts forming such a major part of a person's life, it has proven useful to determine to what

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This thesis follows the literary style of the American Sociological Review.

extent and in what manner the two interact with and/or conflict with each other while individuals progress through their lives and establish their status within society. The life cycle phenomena, as well as the roles that develop during the life cycle, provide one general framework for examining the effects of these two life plan areas. These concepts will be utilized to help determine the effects of marriage deferment on a young person's ability to achieve.

Status attainment researchers (Haller and Portes, 1973; Runciman, 1968) have hypothesized that there are three basic dimensions which reflect the basis of the American status system: wealth, power, and prestige. In the past, most status attainment research has evolved along the lines of prestige. In fact, it has been found that a person's position in the occupational hierarchy is probably the most reliable indicator of social status (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Call and Otto, 1977). Featherman and Hauser (1976) and Gross (1959) have posited that there is a trend developing whereby positions in the occupational hierarchy are being allocated to an increasing degree on the basis of experience and merit. In the past, a person's name and family background provided dependable clues to their status in society due to the fact that a person's occupation was an ascribed one and, therefore, was determined at birth. In comparison, in contemporary American societies there is a wide range of occupations which individuals can choose from and the occupation that a person holds is usually one that has been achieved (Gross, 1959). Consequently, occupations are currently a strong factor in conferring status. The increased importance of individual achievement[1] in society points to educational attainment as a central and early mechanism in the life cycle that leads to status attainment.[2] This increased emphasis on individual achievement also holds the potential of equalizing the attainment opportunities of men and women.

The primary purpose of this research is to investigate what effect the deferment of marriage could have on the ability of the male and the female to achieve higher levels of education and, therefore, possibly higher levels of occupational status. In the past, educational attainment has been investigated as one of the primary variables affecting status attainment. This research will investigate the possibility that marriage deferment is as important a variable to status attainment research as is the level of education achieved. In status attainment research, level of education is seen as an intervening variable that transmits adolescent influences such as significant other influences, grade point and aspirations to subsequent attainments. From the life cycle approach, marital deferment can be viewed as a variable that can potentially enhance achievement.

The effect of marriage deferment on the ability of males and females to achieve higher levels of educational and occupational status will be investigated by making sex and race comparisons of the antecedents and consequences of marriage deferment. The antecedents to marriage deferment to be considered include the socioeconomic status of the panel participants, their attitudes toward future education and occupation, as well as their desired age of marriage. Consequences of marriage deferment include the educational and occupational attainments of the participants as well as their newly formed attitudes for future education and occupation. Figure 1 depicts how these variables are conceptualized.

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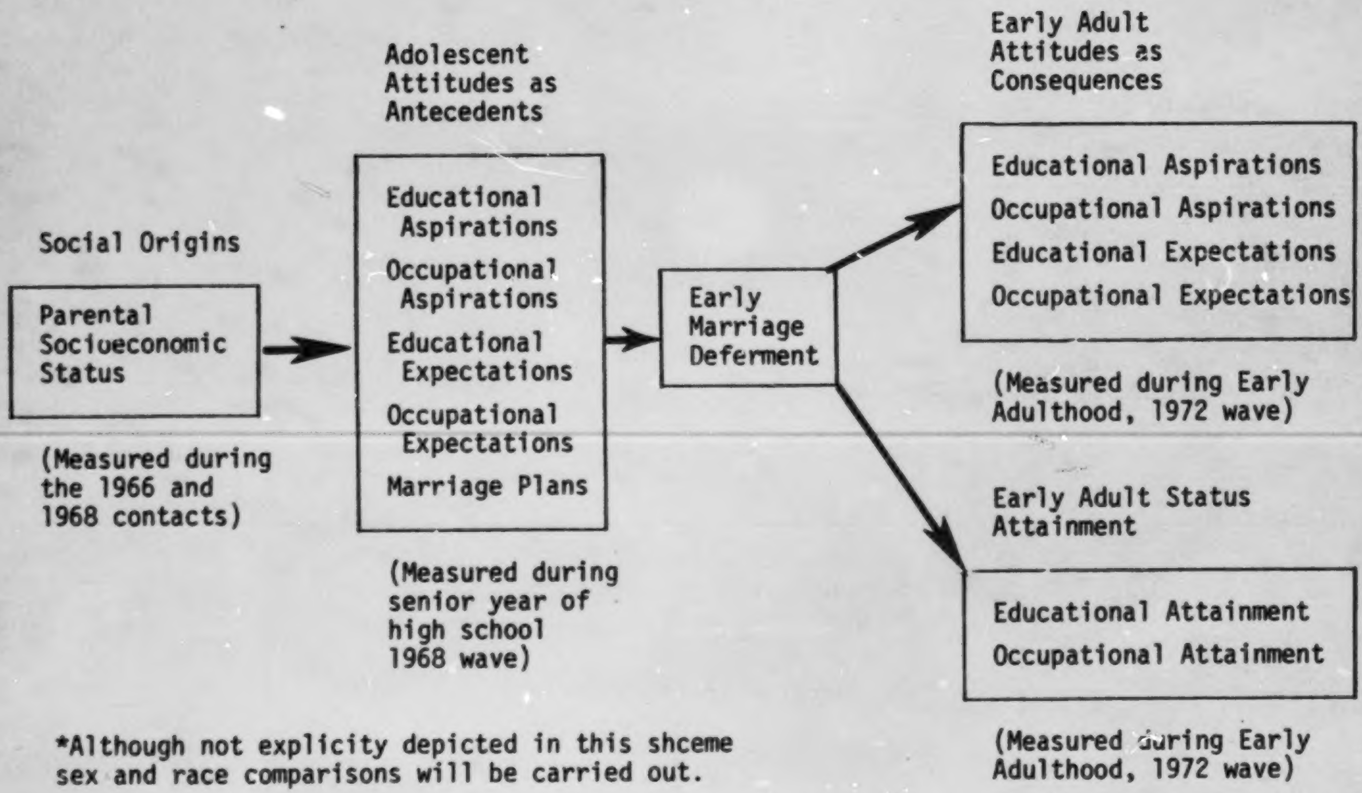
[1] Achievement is taken in the broader sense to refer to an individual's ability, experience and education.

[2] Extant research on status attainment tends to focus on the empirical indicators of education, occupation and income as status attainments (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell and associates, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1968; Haller and Portes, 1973).

In order to analyze this problem longitudinal data which was collected under the auspices of the Southern Youth Study will be utilized. One thousand and fifty-two black and white young people from the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Texas are included. This data has been chosen because it contains information concerning the life cycle and timing of marriage as well as information concerning the educational and occupational aspirations, expectations and attainments of the participants.

Significance of Problem

There are potentially both theoretical and practical applications of this research. Theoretically, the research introduces a new variable--marriage deferment--for consideration into the study of the life cycle phenomena as it pertains to status attainment. In the past, most life cycle studies such as those conducted by Blau and Duncan (1967) and Sewell and his associates (1969, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1975) have focused on educational attainment as the major variable affecting status attainment. It is possible that the concept of marriage defer-


Social Origins
Parental Socioeconomic Status
(Measured during the 1966 and 1968 contacts)
Adolescent Attitudes as Antecedents
Educational Aspirations
Occupational Aspirations
Educational Expectations
Occupational Expectations
Marriage Plans
(Measured during senior year of high school 1968 wave)
Early Marriage Deferment
Early Adult Attitudes as Consequences
Educational Aspirations
Occupational Aspirations
Educational Expectations
Occupational Expectations
(Measured during Early Adulthood, 1972 wave)
Early Adult Status Attainment
Educational Attainment
Occupational Attainment
(Measured during Early Adulthood, 1972 wave)

*Although not explicity depicted in this shceme sex and race comparisons will be carried out.

FIGURE 1. Analytical Framework Relating Marital Deferment to Potential Adolescent Antecedents and Adult Consequences*

ment could prove to be as critical a variable in the status attainment process as is educational attainment.

There is also an important practical application to be considered. This data could prove valuable to counselors of high school age young people. As counselors gain more knowledge concerning the possible effects of marriage deferment on the ability of young people to achieve higher status, they will be better equipped to provide guidance concerning the alternatives for their futures and what the possible outcomes of those alternatives could be.

Definition of Concepts

Throughout this research several analytical concepts and terms are utilized. This section will provide definitions of these concepts.

Life cycle. According to Bates and Harvey (1975) a life cycle is the process by which individuals develop and grow from the point of infancy through old age. This process includes how the person becomes active in the social system and how new positions and roles are acquired and adapted to throughout a person's life.

Socialization. Socialization, according to Nye and Berardo (1973), is the process by which newborn infants learn and acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes which are necessary to function effectively within a society. This is achieved through the combined effort of family, peers, and community and religious organizations. A sex-role socialization also occurs where males and females learn what is considered to be the appropriate behavior, interests and attitudes of one's sex (Randour, 1977).

Status attainment process. The status attainment process refers to those events by which individuals "come to occupy their positions in the social hierarchies of wealth, power and prestige" (Haller and Portes, 1973). This concept includes all activities that are involved in the transmission of status and provides a method to define the causal sequences by which people reach their positions in the status hierarchies.

Socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status is one means of assessing a person's position in society. It is associated with such factors as educational background, place of residence, and income level. It, therefore, provides a measure of an individual's power and prestige as well as wealth (Robertson, 1977).

Educational and occupational aspiration. An aspiration refers to a person's desiring a particular goal or object. Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966) break this concept down into three analytical elements: (1) a person or persons, (2) wanting or having an orientation toward or about, (3) a social object or goal. The last two elements of this concept can vary internally as well as independently of each other. In this research, aspirations will refer to a person's educational and occupational aspirations.

Educational and occupational expectations. An expectation "is the individual's estimation of his probable attainment in reference to a particular goal-area..." (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966). Expectations are different from aspirations in that an expectation is not necessarily desired and, therefore, is not always a goal. This research will concentrate on educational and occupational expectations.

Marriage Plans. Bayer (1969a, 1969b) views an individual's marriage plans as the actual age they expect to marry. His studies have shown that the age at which a person expects to marry coincides closely with that person's actual age of marriage.

Marriage deferment. Marriage deferment, as used in this research, refers to the timing of marriage of an individual. Those people who marry during or soon after high school are considered to have married early while those who marry later are considered to have postponed marriage.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Life Cycle

As young people mature, they are confronted with a cycle of growth from infancy to adulthood in which they experience varying and ever changing roles such as son or daughter, playmate, student, spouse, employee, parent, and grandparent. Because of exposure to these new and changing roles, individuals gain new perspectives on their activities and their lives. From this we recognize that the socialization process is never ending because people are in a continuous process of adjusting to and modifying activities in their lives (DeFleur, 1976).

The life cycle phenomena assists the study of status attainment in two important ways. First, it can provide a better understanding of how social origins influence a person's opportunities to achieve status as well as providing an understanding of the importance of educational attainment in the determination of one's status (Sewell and Hauser, 1972). Secondly, because it also provides a causal sequence of events that are involved in the transmission and eventual attainment of status, it can be useful in providing a better understanding of the interaction of the education and career plans with the family plans of a young person.

According to Bates and Harvey (1975), the average American's life cycle contains six stages--infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, middle age and old age. As an individual moves from one stage to another, alterations in the person's activities occur and changes in the quality and amount of their participation within the society takes place.

At birth a person's position in life, such as son or daughter, is simple and dependent on the kinship structure. As one moves through the stages of the life cycle, a progressive exposure to new and differing roles occurs. These new roles begin to originate not only from the kinship structure but also from the neighborhood, friendship, and educational portions of the individual's life (DeFleur, 1976). At some point in the life cycle, usually during adulthood, individuals reach maximum participation in society and they, at that time, hold numerous complex roles. After this point the process slows, fewer new roles are taken on, participation in certain roles is limited and eventually the person will completely withdraw from certain previous roles (Bates and Harvey, 1975). At this point, it is important to note that the roles that individuals enter have existing role expectations attached to them which reflect cultural norms. Through the continuing process of socialization, these expectations are internalized and individuals are able to function within their roles effectively.

There are certain critical points in the life cycle where drastic changes in the person's relationships, activities, and behavior occur. These changes are a result of the sudden engagement of new and more complex roles by the individuals, while they at the same time leave behind simpler and more comfortable roles. Bates and Harvey (1975) discuss eight life crises that people experience: (1) birth; (2) learning to walk and talk; (3) entrance into school; (4) puberty, dating, attaining a driver's license; (5) leaving school, entering work, marriage and parenthood; (6) career zenith, children maturing and getting married; (7) retirement; and (8) oncoming of death.

Life Cycle Attainment

Attainment, both educationally and occupationally, is essentially a process that begins early in the life cycle and continues through adulthood and middle age (Falk and Cosby, 1974). From this it appears that a person's attainment can be viewed as a result of the accumulation of prior factors, influences, events, experiences and positions that people are exposed to.

In the childhood stage of the growth cycle individuals begin to form aspirations concerning their future. These first aspirations often take the form of fantasies concerning what the child desires as far as education, marriage, occupation, and number of children wanted. Slowly, as they mature, their choices begin to take the form of more realistic expectations (Ginzberg, et al., 1951).

It is possible for a person's aspirations, expectations, and subsequent attainments to vary. This occurs because the process of achieving certain levels of attainments is never ending in that when one set of expectations is achieved, new aspirations and expectations will be formed while old ones may be revised (Cosby et al., 1976). From this we again recognize that childhood and adolescent experiences and attitudes have an important effect on subsequent adult attainments but these effects undergo constant modifications and adjustments.

Blau and Duncan (1967) were among the first to utilize the life cycle concept to study social mobility and status attainment. Through their work they try to provide a systematic analysis of what they feel is the major foundation of the American stratification system--the

American occupational system. They state, "the occupational structure in modern industrial society not only constitutes an important foundation for the main dimensions of social stratification but also serves as the connecting link between different institutions and spheres of social life, and therein lies its great significance" (1967).

By determining four family background variables of a male population--father's education, father's occupational attainment, highest level of education completed by the individual, prestige level of individual's first job--they attempt to discover two primary relationships. First, they are interested in determining the extent that inherited or ascribed statuses affect the social fate of an individual and second, they investigate the extent that previous positions in the status hierarchies affect later attainment levels (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Haller and Portes, 1973).

The approach of Blau and Duncan considers the father's occupational status to be an origin status for the offspring (Marshall and Cosby, 1977) and then focuses on how later attainments of an individual develop throughout the life cycle by determining how much of the occupational status can be explained by intervening experiences and characteristics developed from the time of birth until early adult attainments. From their studies, Blau and Duncan found that the parents' position did have a direct effect on the attainment of their offspring, but that the primary effect of parents was an indirect one via the educational level the offspring was enabled to complete.

Sewell and his associates (1969, 1972, 1975, 1968, 1970) conducted another major study concerning status attainment which has come to be known as the Wisconsin study. In a series of reports these researchers attempt to extend the earlier work of Blau and Duncan by introducing various social psychological factors which could be related to educational and occupational aspirations that form between social origins and subsequent attainments. Utilized in their study were variables concerning the status of both parents, significant other influences, mental ability, and level of respondent's aspirations for education and occupation. Sewell and his associates found, as did Blau and Duncan, that early occupational attainment was primarily a function of the individual's prior education.

Sex and Status Attainment

Sex roles are defined by a society according to what they consider to be an ideal man or woman and virtually no person goes unaffected by these definitions. Epstein states:

> From their culture, children desire a set of expectations about themselves that become a crucial part of their self-image. From the value system, they learn what to like and dislike, what to cherish and disdain, and...what are acceptable, occupational and family-social patterns. They are taught to define certain work as essential but of low value. Depending on their social class, race, and sex, specific types of work are encouraged, tolerated, or tabooed. This early conditioning is nearly always crucial to later occupational decisions. (1970)

This quote suggests that sex role socialization is an important factor in the status attainment process (Randour, 1977) and that the inequalities between males and females in occupations and income may be acquired throughout the life cycle (Featherman and Hauser, 1976).

Another important factor which appears to affect status attainment is the relationship between the socioeconomic status of individuals, their educational aspirations, and their marital plans. It has been observed that there is a strong relationship between the marital plans of young people and the level of their educational aspirations in that those who want to marry late desire more education (Bayer, 1969a; Call and Otto, 1977; Nye and Berardo, 1973; Watley and Kaplan, 1971). The relationship between a young person's marital plans and his or her socioeconomic status has not proven to be as strong as has the relationship between marital plans and educational aspirations (Bayer, 1969a).

These factors will be investigated in an effort to obtain a better understanding of what the antecedents of marital deferment are for both males and females and what the results of marriage deferment would be. To date, there have been few studies which have actually studied antecedents of marriage deferment, but due to the fact that the antecedents of higher achievement in the educational and occupational realms of a person's life can be closely linked to the antecendents of marriage deferment these will be included in the literature review.

The Female

For many years the socialization process of American females has reinforced the idea that the female is to be pretty, affectionate, and independent while it also emphasized the learning of skills and attitudes which would assist the female in the traditional feminine roles of wife and mother. In the past, women have accepted an indirect or vicarious societal status (Lipman-Blumen, 1974; Nye and Berardo, 1973) which was first a reflection of her father's status and when she married, a reflection of her husband's status.

To some extent this trend had been changing. More females have expanded their roles to include high status occupations and positions and because of this, societal status of many women is beginning to be a reflection of their own position and achievement (Treiman and Terrell, 1975). Although this trend may be beneficial in many ways, it has caused the role of the female to be more complex in that they often have both a dominant familial and occupational role to contend with.

Because of the complexity of the female role, it is felt by some researchers (Falk and Cosby, 1974; Bates and Harvey, 1975) that females have more phases in their life cycle that must be contended with than does the male. Falk and Cosby (1974) point out five phases of the female's life cycle: (1) single and working; (2) married and working because of necessity to supplement the family income; (3) married with children, returning to work after children are grown or are in school; (4) separated or divorced and working out of necessity; and (5) widowhood and working for the activity. One additional or alternative phase to be considered is married with a career, no children.

Matthews and Tiedman (1964), in their writings concerning the attitudes of females toward career choices and marriage, state that "attitudes can influence decisions; decisions can be followed by actions and actions define life." It would follow that a woman's life plans would be greatly affected by the attitudes she was confronted with and that she formed while maturing. Matthews and Tiedman (1964) list five major attitudinal themes which occur during the life cycle of the female which hold the potential to affect her future life plans concerning marriage, education and occupation. One of the main disparities which a female is exposed to concerns the female's impression of the male's reaction to the use of her intelligence. This can cause some females to feel uncomfortable about pursuing a career. A second area which can result in problems for the female is the traditional attitude that the male should be dominant while the female's place is in the home. Third, there is the conflict which results from family demands versus work demands on the time allotment of the female. Fourth, the female is faced with the dilemma of timing of dating and marriage versus the desire to acquire additional education. Last, the female is confronted with ambiguity within her roles because there is a lack of societal definitions of the feminine role once an occupation is taken on.

These five attitudes which a female is confronted with during her upbringing often cause her to develop conflicting ideas concerning how her success will be viewed and judged if she chooses to combine the two major roles of wife-mother and career woman. The manner in which the female resolves this problem is a critical factor affecting her future career decisions (Falk and Cosby, 1974).

For those women who are oriented toward high levels of occupational achievement, it has been found that the amount of education desired is directly related to a female's marriage and/or career plans (Watley and Kaplan, 1971) and that each additional year of their education contributes significantly toward their subsequent occupational prestige (Treiman and Terrell, 1975). It has been noticed by Sewell and Shah (1968) as well as Alexander and Eckland (1974) that the importance of status background is reduced and academic ability begins to be more of an influencing factor for those females who actually begin college.

Even though there is a strong relationship between the marital plans of young people and their educational aspirations; for females, attainments have proven to be more closely tied to the ascribed status of their family background (Alexander and Eckland, 1974; McClendon, 1976; Randour, 1977; Sewell and Shah, 1968). Falk and Salter (1978) found that mother's education and father's education were the primary social origin variables which influenced a female's educational aspirations. However, breadwinner's occupation was not found to have an effect on the educational aspirations and plans of the female. Since the relationship between the female's social origins and her aspirations appears to hold for the female's goal orientation as well as for her later attainments, the importance of the female's sex role socialization is once again suggested. This concept is further supported by Featherman and Hauser (1976) when they report that the inequalities of occupational roles and income between males and females are not determined at birth, but rather they develop throughout the life cycle. Tully *et al*. (1974) also found that preadolescent females often have higher and more varied aspirations than do females of college age. This, once again, can be related to the idea that throughout the life cycle females are greatly affected by the sex role socialization that reinforces the idea that only certain occupations are acceptable for females.

Epstein discusses six problems which face the female who decides to combine the roles of wife and mother along with that of being a professional.

(1) By combining the different roles a woman holds at one time, consequences arise for the acquisition of new statuses or the elimination of those she already holds.
(2) Female sex-linked statuses are weighted in respect to other statuses she holds.
(3) Demands of one role may be overdemanding and thus cause role conflicts.
(4) Norms governing expected behavior in certain roles are often ambiguous.

> (5) Lack of consensus on expected role behavior of the female professional by members of her other roles.
> (6) Cultural preferences and expectations concerning the appropriateness of roles which may be combined to form status sets. (1970)

One additional area that is problematic for the female concerns her dilemma of choosing between a traditional or nontraditional female occupation. All of these factors must be weighed by women before they make their final decision concerning whether or not to pursue a career.

It is felt by various researchers (Falk and Cosby, 1974; Klemmack and Edwards, 1973; Rosenfeld, 1978; Tully _et al_., 1974) that mothers who work and college educated mothers exert a strong effect on the educational and occupational committment of their daughters. The daughter of a working mother is exposed to a female role model that provides a positive orientation toward the acceptability of the female working and having a career (Rosenfeld, 1978) while she is, at the same time, exposed to a male figure who does not have a negative attitude toward women who work or who desire higher positions. Additionally, the daughter of a college educated mother is often affected by the significant other influence of her parents to aspire to higher academic achievements.

An additional factor which appears to be affecting the choice of certain females to expand their role behavior beyond what it has been limited to in the past concerns societies' evaluations of positions and occupations. Due to the fact that occupations which have in the past been considered traditional male occupations are often more highly valued as well as more highly rewarded in our society, larger numbers of females are developing aspirations for such occupations (Epstein, 1970; Tully et al., 1974).

Because of these factors, educational attainment and the activation of higher occupational aspirations are being realized by an increasing number of females. Currently in the United States many females are able to receive formal educations which are comparable to those that men receive (Epstein, 1970; Treiman and Terrell, 1975). Klemmack and Edwards (1973) point out that sixty percent of the increase in the labor force for the past twenty-five years has consisted of women, many of whom are married. At the same time, the proportion of young females enrolled in college has doubled, and it will most likely be these women who will subsequently enter the labor force with higher levels of educational achievement and aspirations for higher status occupations.[3]

A study conducted by Treiman and Terrell (1975) provides information concerning differences between income of married and never married white females. It was found that never married women earn considerably more than do females who have married; never married women were also found to be better educated, to work more hours per year, and to hold higher status positions. Over all, it appeared that single white women are far more likely to capitalize on their educational training and that they are similar to white males in relation to the factors which influence their incomes. Black single women were also found to be better educated, work more, and have higher status positions than were married black women; but the difference did not appear to be as strong as it was for white females.

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[3] It has been shown by many researchers (Featherman and Hauser, 1976; Epstein, 1970; Watley and Kaplan, 1971), that it has not been customary for women to always translate their education into satisfying careers. Also, comparatively few women reach the Ph.D. level or professional positions such as doctors and lawyers.

The Male

The role of the male has, throughout time, been more rigidly set than has that of the female especially in the areas of work, the necessity of pursuing a career, what the masculine role is to include, and the fact that his status will be a direct reflection of his standing in society (Tully *et al*., 1974). A man's socialization process from the beginning entails continuous reinforcements of the concepts that he should be independent, active, strong, competitive, self-confident, not emotionally expressive (Chafetz, 1974; Diamond, 1971; Randour, 1977) and to attain levels of education which will allow him to support him and his family in an acceptable fashion (Sewell and Shah, 1968).

An example of this socialization process can be seen in the games young boys are encouraged to participate in such as football, baseball, and basketball. These games are strenuous, call for team cooperation, require strategy development and help formulate a competitive attitude. These types of activities enable a young boy to learn group procedures and to develop social initiative; both of which are important to his eventual success in the business world (Chafetz, 1974). An occupation then for a man is viewed as a necessity and is encouraged from the beginning of his upbringing.

Because of the direction of the male's socialization, the influence of significant others in the male's life appears to have a direct effect on their educational and occupational aspirations as well as on their actual level of educational attainment (Sewell, *et al*., 1970). Blau and Duncan (1967), as well as Sewell and his associates (1968, 1969, 1972, 1970, 1975) have found support for the belief that factors from the male's family background are of great importance in forming the male's aspiration levels. This effect appears to be largely due to the significant other influences that are exerted by parents, peers and teachers (Porter, 1974; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Sewell and Hauser, 1975), and because of the educational climate of the male's surroundings (Blau and Duncan, 1967). It is important to note that parents and peers appear to hold the strongest influences on forming the male's aspirations while the influence of teachers has been found to be approximately two to three times less than that of parents and peers.[4]

This relationship holds for the black male also but to a lesser extent. Parental achievement for blacks fails to provide as strong an advantage for the male offspring as does parental achievement of whites (Cosby and Picou, 1975). Education does prove to be the strongest determinant of future attainment for blacks, but this effect is approximately one-half that of whites (Portes and Wilson, 1976).

Blau and Duncan (1967) found that the level of father's education has the greatest influence on the early educational and occupational aspirations of young males. Their studies have also found that mother's education exerts a strong influence on the aspirations of the male. Other studies (Sewell and Shah, 1968; Tully et al., 1970) have shown that the educational achievements of both parents are positively related to the college plans and college graduation of the male.

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[4] Even though the influence of teachers is less than that of parents and peers, a teacher's encouragement is based more on the student's ability and performance than is that of parents and peers. This could work as an equalizing agent in the educational process (Sewell and Hauser, 1975).

Sewell and Hauser (1975) found that when the male child had high level achievement models from both parents his educational aspirations were often increased. This appears to be a result of the educational climate within the family and the surroundings of the male which encourage and reward an interest in learning and achievement.

As has been stated, a consistent finding of past stratification and attainment research is that those children with high social class origins are more likely to aspire to higher educational and occupational goals. Call and Otto (1977) have carried this analysis further and have formulated four possible theoretical propositions concerning the potentially circular effects of the male's marriage age and his level of attainments. These include:

1. The lower the social class, the more likely early marriage will occur.
2. The earlier the marriage, the more likely the lower social class placement of the couple.
3. The lower the social class, the lower the aspirations and achievements.
4. The lower the aspirations and achievements, the more likely early marriage will occur.

(Call and Otto, 1977)

By examining these propositions it appears that for the male, as for the female, age at the time of marriage can prove to be a key intervening variable in the process of educational and occupational attainment. This analysis is further supported by the earlier findings of Bayer (1969a) that a person's age at marriage is affected by their aspirations for future achievements.

It is felt by many researchers (Drabick, 1972; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Call and Otto, 1977) that a male's academic performance can be influenced by marriage. Drabick (1972) states that because of the financial demands of college, along with the strenuous time requirements attached to college, an early marriage could prove to be disruptive to the time spent in college. Blau and Duncan (1967) state that entering marriage can in itself be the cause of terminating schooling for either or both parties. Call and Otto (1977) not only feel that an early marriage can influence a male's future levels of attainment, but also that the academic performance of a male can serve as a selection mechanism. They state:

> As a young man becomes more successful academically, he becomes less likely to marry early. Thus, academic performance functions as a selection process. Young men who do not do well in school assess their situation, lower their occupational aspirations, enter the job market and increase their potential for early marriage. Moreover, poor academic performance may result in marriage being perceived as an alternative goal which also results in early marriage.
>
> (Call and Otto, 1977)

The male's aspirations for education and occupation are doubly important due to the fact that they also represent a self-appraisal which is often based on the expectations of the significant others in their lives (Porter, 1974; Shea, 1976). Expectations by those in contact with the male influence his aspirations, which then appear to influence his academic performance and ultimately his educational and occupational attainment. Shea states:

> Models in which status aspirations, self-assessment, significant-other influences, and similar variables play the crucial role imply that it is the way in which the individual comes to see himself and his future which ultimately conditions his achievements. The theme of this line of theorizing is mostly psychological: status attainment is predominantly a self-guided process in which initial status and ability variables operate to mold a person's self-concept, the influence he receives from a significant others, and finally his life aspirations. (1976)

Wilson and Portes (1975) support this view. They feel that when a person's aspirations, self-assessment, and significant others are critical, it is the manner in which the individual comes to visualize himself and his future options which affect his achievements. At this point it is important to point out one critical difference in the attainment process of blacks and whites. For whites the status attainment process is contest-oriented in that nearly all white males are allowed to participate in the same type of educational programs and practically everyone is given the opportunity to discover and develop their talents (Yuchtman and Samuel, 1975). Blacks, on the other hand, have a sponsored-mobility attainment process where, by regulating an individual's participation in the available programs, a select few are encouraged to achieve in certain areas (Portes and Wilson, 1976; Porter, 1974).

Because of the cultural norm that has been attached to the roles of husband and father that the man is to be the source of authority and the major breadwinner of the family; once a man enters the labor force it is often difficult for him to leave it, especially if he has a family (Bates and Harvey, 1975). As has been pointed out, the male's self-image is often equated with his ability to accumulate wealth and to provide for his family (DeFleur, 1976). Because of this, it becomes increasingly important for a male to acquire the necessary education to meet the requirements of his chosen occupation.

After reviewing the available literature, it appears that for both males and females, whether they are black or white, the decision to defer marriage can have a significant effect on an individual's subsequent status attainment. It has been pointed out by several researchers that a person's status within American society is strongly associated with their standing in the occupational hierarchy. Further, it has been stated that as society increasingly allocates positions within the occupational hierarchy on the basis of merit and experience, advanced levels of education become critical. Previous conceptual and theoretical research has hypothesized that for those young people who defer entrance into marriage, acquiring advanced levels of education is simplified and, therefore, their opportunities to acquire higher status occupations are increased. The objective of this research is to examine this conceptual and theoretical notion in an actual research case.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The Sample

The data to be analyzed in this study were obtained from a larger parent project entitled the Southern Youth Study (SYS). The SYS consists of high school age, rural youth from the six southern states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. From its onset, this research has been jointly supported by the Cooperative State Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station of each state involved, for the primary purpose of analyzing the achievements and attainments as well as the career and family developmental sequences of rural youth as they move from adolescence to adulthood.

Wave I of the SYS was collected in 1966 from a population of sophomore age high school students. Even though the sampling procedures differed between the states, the final outcome provided high schools which were socioeconomically similar and that were from rural counties.[5] Students who were present for classes on the specified day were given a group-administered questionnaire in their classrooms. No attempt was made to contact those students who were not present. At this point 7,972 questionnaires were administered.

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[5] One county that was sampled did not have a substantial rural population and was omitted.

Wave II was conducted in 1968 when a similar questionnaire was given to all seniors at high schools used in the first wave. After these questionnaires were completed, they were matched with questionnaires from Wave I. Only questionnaires from those students who participated in both waves were utilized. The major reason for panel attrition appeared to be high school drop-outs.

In 1972, four years after panel participants were expected to graduate from high school, a second follow-up was conducted. Since limited funds were available for the purpose of relocating the participants and because, at this point, panel participants were more widely dispersed, a stratified sample from Waves I and II was taken. This sample was stratified by both race (50:50) and sex (60 male, 40 female) within each state. In this third wave personal interviews, mail questionnaires and telephone interviews were utilized. The final sample consists of 1,052 black and white rural youth--201 black females, 247 black males, 240 white females, 364 white males--from the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Texas. Mississippi has been omitted since they took part in 1966 only (for further details on the sampling procedures used in the SYS see Byrd, 1976 and White, 1974).

Characteristics of the Areas Studied

From the states that were involved in the study, forty-five counties were selected. All of the counties had from 45 to 100 percent rural populations and they also contained a relatively high percentage of black residents. There was also a heavy dependence within these counties on agriculture which is shown by the fact that most counties had a high proportion of farm land.

The education level, as well as the median family income of residents within the counties, is lower than average state and national levels. All states and counties included in the SYS have educational attainment levels that are lower than the national median level while most of the counties have a lower educational attainment level than their respective states. The median income of these counties ranged from $3,173 to $8,755 while the median income level for the United States is $9,957. Additionally, the income difference between whites and blacks was extremely divergent. The average median income for whites was $7,320 while for blacks the average median income was only $3,790. Along these same lines, it was found that there was a high concentration of semi-skilled and unskilled occupations within these areas.

Characteristics of High Schools Sampled

In 1966, there was a total of 92 high schools participating in the SYS. Twenty-nine of these schools were segregated white, 34 were segregated black, and 28 of the schools were integrated. In 1968, when Louisiana entered the study, there were 100 schools in the study--36 white schools, 32 black schools, and 32 integrated schools. In this phase, there were 91 high schools. Nine high schools were omitted due to untypically large senior classes. It was felt that this was a necessary step in order to make the sample more homogeneous.

Table 1 gives the senior class enrollment distribution for the SYS.

Indicators and Measurements

In this section, variables that are used to analyze the effect of marriage deferment on the achievement attitudes and attainments of young people will be discussed. It is important to note that these variables have been chosen because they closely coincide with variables that have been used in previous status attainment research.

Parental Socioeconomic Status

Parental socioeconomic status of the participants was derived from a question concerning breadwinners' occupation which provides a general indicator of the status of the family. This variable was determined by asking in 1966, "What is the main job held by the major money earner of your home?" The responses have been coded according to Duncan's (1961) Socioeconomic Index (SEI). To facilitate analysis, breadwinner's occupation SEI scores are divided into two groups. Those with an SEI score of 45 or less are viewed as members of the lower socioeconomic class while those with an SEI of larger than 45 are viewed as members of the middle socioeconomic class.[6]

Father's Educational Attainment

Father's education was determined by asking in 1966, "What is

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[6] This division has been used in previous studies. See Haller _et al_., 1974 and White, 1974.

TABLE 1: Senior Class Enrollment Distribution for Southern Youth Study States (Thomas, 1978)

STATE	NUMBER OF COUNTIES	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS PER SENIOR CLASS SIZE				NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	AVERAGE SIZE
		0-19	20-49	50-79	80+		
ALABAMA	4	1	6	6	4	17[a]	64.2
GEORGIA	4	0	2	2	4	8	74.9
LOUISIANA	13	5	11	2	2	20	36.7
SOUTH CAROLINA	23	2	8	9	19	38[b]	125.3
TEXAS	3	3	9	1	0	13[c]	28.4
TOTAL	47	11	36	20	29	96	78.8
PERCENT		11.5	37.5	20.8	30.2	100.0	

[a] Two schools disbanded (no indication of consolidation).

[b] Four schools omitted because of urban classification of one county.

[c] Eight schools disbanded and two schools lacked complete information.

the highest school grade completed by your father?" The nine fixed education levels were: (1) Did not go to school; (2) Grades 1-7; (3) Eighth grade; (4) Some high school but did not graduate; (5) Graduated from high school; (6) Went to vocational school after graduating from high school; (7) Some college but did not graduate; and (8) College graduate. If no response was given in 1966, the response given to the same question in 1968 was used. These responses have been recoded for this research into those who had less than a high school education and those who had a high school education or more.

Mother's Educational Attainment

Mother's education was determined by asking "What was the highest school grade completed by your mother?" These responses were coded in the same manner as father's education. They have been recoded into those with less than a high school education and those who had a high school education or more.

Occupational Aspirations

Occupational aspirations were given two codes, one according to Duncan's (1961) SEI and one for occupational persona. First, in 1968 and 1972, the participants were asked, "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job?" These responses were coded according to Duncan's (1961) SEI. For purposes of this study these responses have been separated into two main groups--those with lower socioeconomic aspirations and those with middle socioeconomic aspirations as was done for breadwinners' occupation. A category for housewife is included for females.

Secondly, for the females in the sample, the responses were classified according to occupational persona. These were coded (0) Male respondent; (1) Housewife; (2) Traditional female occupation; (3) Traditional male occupation. The following list of occupations were coded as traditional female occupations: (The 1975 Handbook on Women Workers, U.S. Department of Labor, 1975 was used to obtain the percentage of females who were employed in each occupation.) beautician, 91.8; bookkeeper, 88.3; cook, 59.8; key punch operator, 90.9; librarian, 82.1; maid, 98.3; nurse, 97.8; receptionist, 96.9; sales clerk, 69.0; seamstress, 96.3; secretary, 99.1; teacher 84.5; telephone operator, 95.9; waitress, 82.9. The following occupations are treated as traditional female occupations but were not included in the 1975 Hankbook on Women Workers: actress, dancer, florist, interior decorator, lab technician, and model.

Occupational Expectations

Occupational expectations were also measured in two ways. In 1968 and 1972, the participants were asked, "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job?" These responses were handled in the same manner as those for occupational aspirations. Occupational persona were coded for these responses also.

Educational Aspirations

In 1968 and 1972, the panel participants were asked, "If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do?" Responses were coded: (1) Quit school now or less than high school; (2) Complete high school; (3) Complete a Business, Commercial, Electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school; (4) Graduate from a junior college; (5) Graduate from a college or university; and (6) Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university. For purposes of this study these responses have been reclassified into two groups: (1) those with less than college aspirations; and (2) those with college aspirations.

Educational Expectations

Likewise, in 1968 and 1972, the participants were asked, "What do you really expect to do about your education?". The responses were originally coded in the same manner as educational aspirations. These have been reclassified in the same manner as educational aspirations.

Educational Attainment, 1972

Respondents' educational attainment were obtained in 1972 by asking, "What is the highest degree or educational program you have completed?" The original responses were: (1) Some high school; (2) High school diploma; (3) Military training program; (4) Vocational technical program; (5) Business or clerical education program; (6) Practical nursing program; (7) Associate degree-junior college; (8) Bachelor degree--four-year college or university; (9) Professional degree; (10) Master's degree; and (11) Ph.D. degree. These categories were recoded to (1) less than college; and (2) college.

Occupational Attainment, 1972

Early occupational attainment was established by asking, "What job or occupation did you hold on May 2, 1972?" The responses were coded according to Duncan's (1961) SEI. For this research, these were divided into those with scores of 45 or less and those with scores over 45. Categories for housewife, student and unemployed were also included.

Marital Status in 1972

Marital status of the respondents was determined by asking the question, "If married, when did you get married?" Month and year responses were coded. For purposes of this study, marriage deferment has been operationally defined initially in a three-category classification. The first category includes respondents who were married during high school or within two years of high school graduation. The second category is made up of respondents who married in the period beginning two years after high school through four years after graduation. The third category consists of respondents who were not married at the time of the 1972 recontact. This division will distinguish between youth who married early in the life cycle, those who marry after a certain amount of post-high school experience, and those who marry after the normative age of 22.

Analysis

Contingency table analysis was utilized to determine the relationship between a person's social origins, antecedents to and consequences of marriage deferment. Chi square values were computed for each table in order to determine if the responses that were obtained from this data deviated from what could be expected by chance. A .05 level of statistical significance was chosen. A coefficient of contingency (C) was also computed for each table in order to provide a measure of association between variables being used. Sex and race controls were carried throughout the analysis.

Basically, this method of analysis was chosen because it allows the nature of relationships between variables to be determined while providing an index of association. Also, while relationships between two variables are being determined a third variable can be controlled. The tables and related statistics were computed with the use of the Statistical Analysis System (Barr _et_ _al_., 1976).

Analysis of this data is conducted by examining four sets of relationships as is depicted in Figure 1 (page 4). Social origins, adolescent attitudes as antecedents, early adult attitudes as consequences, and early adult attainments are used to determine their relationship to marriage deferment.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of this data was conducted in four parts. The first examined the effect of social origins on timing of marriage. Measures of social origins included parental socioeconomic status, father's educational attainment and mother's educational attainment. The second phase of analysis examined adolescent attitudes concerning education, occupations, and marriage plans as antecedents to marriage deferment. The third portion of analysis investigated the consequences of marriage deferment on newly-formed, early adult education and occupation attitudes. Finally, analysis of the consequences of marriage deferment on early adult educational and occupational attainments were conducted. Throughout the analysis race and sex comparisons were made. For simplicity, summary tables have been constructed for this chapter with more detailed tables being placed in Appendix A.

Table 2 provides a breakdown, by race and sex, of the marriage deferment behavior of panel participants. Approximately one-half of the participants were married at the time of the 1972 recontact but substantial differences existed between the categories. Surprisingly, fewer blacks than whites married early. Only 16 percent of the black men and 24 percent of the black women married within the first two years after high school while 20 percent of the white men and 46 percent of the white women were married at this point. The explanation for this variation is unclear. Perhaps, since blacks have many hardships to contend with during the course of their lives, they curtail marriage

TABLE 2: Frequency of Marital Deferment of Southern Youth Study: Race and Sex Comparisons

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Males % (N)	Females % (N)	Males % (N)	Females % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School	16 (40)	24 (49)	20 (73)	46 (111)	26 (273)
Married Within Four Years After High School	19 (46)	19 (38)	29 (104)	26 (63)	24 (251)
Not Married As of 1972	65 (161)	57 (114)	51 (187)	28 (66)	50 (528)
TOTAL	100 (247)	100 (201)	100 (364)	100 (240)	100 (1052)

because it could be an additional factor which would further complicate their lives. A second explanation for this pattern could be that many of the blacks who married early dropped out of high school and were, because of sampling techniques used, excluded from the sample (see Chapter III for a discussion of the sampling techniques utilized).

As might be expected, women in each race married earlier than men, especially those who married within the first two years after high school. For example, more than twice the number of white females were married two years after high school than white males. This pattern is consistent with the societal value that men marry younger women.

Social Origins

Three measures of a person's social origins--parent's socioeconomic status, father's educational attainment in 1966, mother's educational attainment in 1966--were utilized to determine their effect on marital timing. Table 3 provides a summary of race and sex comparisons made. (Contingency Tables for these comparisons are in Appendix A, Tables 7 through 12.) No significant relationships were found for parental socioeconomic status or mother's education and the only social origin indicator that resulted in a statistically significant relationship was between father's education and marriage deferment for white females. Analysis of this relationship indicated that white females with fathers who had at least a high school education were more likely to defer marriage than those with less educated fathers. For example, 36 percent of the white females with fathers who had at least a high school education were not married as of 1972, while only 20 percent of the females with fathers who had less than a college education remained single.

TABLE 3: Contigency Coefficients Between Social Origins and Marital Deferment[a]

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Comments
Parental Socioeconomic Status in 1966 by Marital Deferment	.17 (5.74)	.17 (5.21)	.11 (4.10)	.15 (5.44)	None of the relationships between parental socioeconomic status and marital deferment proved to be significant.
Father's Educational Attainment in 1966 by Marital Deferment	.15 (4.38)	.14 (3.76)	.10 (3.72)	21* (10.83)	The relationship between father's education and marital deferment proved to be significant for white females only. Analysis of data showed white females who had fathers who had at least a high school education were more likely to defer marriage than those with less educated fathers. For example, 36% of the females who had fathers with at least a high school education deferred marriage until after 1972 while 20% of the females who had fathers with less than a college education had deferred marriage until after 1972.
Mother's Educational Attainment in 1966 by Marital Deferment	.10 (2.21)	.16 (4.87)	.11 (4.09)	.12 (3.13)	None of the relationships between mother's education and marital deferment proved to be significant.

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[a] Chi Square statistic in parenthesis

*Significant at the .05 level

Twelve possible social origin relationships were investigated in this phase of the analysis and only one was found to be significant. This implies that, at least for this sample, social origins have minimal influence on, and factors other than social class determine early marital timing. Since no theoretical or empirical studies relating social origins to marital deferment were found in the literature, we can only speculate about the reason for this observation. Since panel participants were largely from lower and middle class families, there may be a lack of sufficient variation in social origins to allow for a determination of relationships between these variables. A larger and more diversified sample would provide a stronger basis for examining the relationships between social origins and marital deferment.

Antecedents to Marriage Deferment

Adolescent attitudes concerning educational aspirations and expectations, occupational aspirations and expectations and marriage plans were analyzed as antecedents to marriage deferment. Sex and race comparisons were made between these five variables and marital deferment. Table 4 summarizes these comparisons (Tables 13 through 22 in Appendix A provide more detailed information on these relationships).

Educational Aspirations, 1968

Adolescent educational aspirations were shown to have a significant relationship on marriage deferment for both white males and females. There was little difference in the magnitude of the association as evidenced by a "C" value of .27 for males versus a "C" of .26 for females. Analysis of data indicates that whites who form high

TABLE 4: Contingency Coefficents Between Adolescent Attitudes and Marital Deferment[a]

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Comments
Educational Aspirations in 1968 by Marital Deferment	.04 (.32)	.06 (.76)	.27* (28.18)	.26* (17.20)	Significant relationships between educational aspirations and marital deferment were found for white males and females. Analysis revealed that whites who form high educational aspirations during adolescence have a tendency to defer marriage. For example, 60% of the white males and 35% of the white females who aspired to college educations deferred marriage until after 1972. Only 37% of the white males and 19% of the white females who had aspirations for less education deferred marriage.
Occupational Aspirations in 1968 by Marital Deferment	.09 (1.81)	.07 (.88)	.20* (13.88)	.15 (5.21)	The relationship between occupational aspirations and marital deferment was found to be significant for white males only. Analysis indicated that white males who aspired to occupations with SEI scores over forty-five tended to defer marriage. For example, 56% of the males who aspired to occupations with SEI scores over forty-five deferred marriage until after 1972 while only 41% of the males who aspired to lower scored occupations deferred marriage.

TABLE 4: (continued)

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Comments
Educational Expectation in 1968 by Marital Deferment	.07 (1.30)	.12 (2.71)	.29* (33.31)	.28* (21.14)	A significant relationship between educational expectations and marriage deferment was found for white males and females. Generally, whites who expected to attain at least a college education tended to defer marriage. For example, 64% of the men and 38% of the women who expected a college education were unmarried in 1972. Only 39% of the men and 22% of the women who expected less education were unmarried in 1972.
Occupational Expectations in 1968 by Marital Deferment	.05 (.53)	.05 (.45)	.26* (23.13)	.26* (17.05)	Relationships between occupational expectations and marital deferment were significant for white males and females. For the most part, whites who expected to attain occupations with SEI scores over forty-five tended to defer marriage. For example, 60% of the men and 35% of the women who expected occupations with high scores deferred marriage until after 1972 while only 43% of the men and 35% of the women who expected lower scored occupations deferred marriage.

TABLE 4: (continued)

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Comments
Marriage Plans in 1968 by Marital Deferment	.31* (26.45)	.31* (20.91)	.30* (36.02)	.43* (55.74)	All relationships between marriage plans and marital status of the participants were found to be significant. Analysis indicated that those people that planned to defer marriage did so. For example, between 60 and 70 percent of the respondents who planned to marry at age twenty-three or older were unmarried in 1972. Only 11 to 15 percent of those who wanted to marry late married within the first two years of high school graduation.

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[a] Chi Square statistic in parenthesis
*Significant at the .05 level

educational aspirations during adolescence have a tendency to defer marriage. For example, of the white males who aspired to college educations, 60 percent were unmarried in 1972. On the other hand, only 37 percent of the males who had educational aspirations for less than a college education were unmarried in 1972. White females had a similar pattern. Thirty-five percent of the females who aspired to college educations were unmarried in 1972, while 19 percent of those with less than college aspirations were single. It is interesting to note that between 51 and 60 percent of each race and sex category had adolescent aspirations for college. For blacks, more females than males aspired to college while the reverse pattern was found for whites.

Occupational Aspirations, 1968

Of the four sex and race categories, white males were the only group to exhibit a significant relationship between adolescent occupational aspirations and marriage deferment and the strength of the association was rather small as evidenced by a "C" value of .20. An examination of Table 16 (Appendix A) shows that white males who had adolescent aspirations for occupations with SEI scores over forty-five tended to defer marriage. For example, 56 percent of the white males who aspired to occupations with SEI scores over forty-five were unmarried in 1972, while only 41 percent of the males who had aspirations for occupations with lower scores were unmarried.

Data concerning occupational persona for female respondents was also analyzed. This analysis was designed to determine the relationship between female aspirations and expectations for traditional versus non-traditional female occupations and marital deferment. There were so few cases, and in many instances no cases, of females aspiring to or expecting non-traditional female occupations that Chi Square analysis was impossible. This indicates that black and white females in this sample saw their opportunities for entering occupations which were traditionally held by men as being rather limited. Such behavior supports the writings of Featherman and Hauser (1976) that sex role socialization works to cause inequalities between males and females in occupational orientations.

Educational Expectations, 1968

When adolescent educational expectations were analyzed as antecedents to marital deferment, significant relationships were found for white males and white females. The strength of the relationships were identical as shown by "C" values of .29 for both groups. In general, white respondents who expected to attain at least a college education had tendencies to defer marriage. For example, 64 percent of the males who expected to attain college educations were unmarried in 1972, while only 39 percent of the males who expected to attain less than a college education remained unmarried. White women exhibited a similar pattern. Thirty-eight percent of the females who expected college educations were unmarried in 1972, while only 22 percent of those who expected to attain less education were unmarried at that time.

Overall, a larger proportion of whites than blacks exhibited expectations for college educations. Approximately 40 percent of the black males and females expected to attain college educations, while 51 percent of the white males and 36 percent of the white females expected to attain higher levels of education. All race and sex categories had a lower percentage of people who expected to attain college educations when compared to aspirations.

Occupational Expectations, 1968

The trends for occupational expectations were similar to those that were found for occupational aspirations. White males and females were the only groups to exhibit significant relationships between early occupational expectations and marriage deferment. Analysis indicated that whites who expected to attain occupations with SEI scores greater than forty-five had a tendency to defer marriage. This trend is readily observable in that 60 percent of the white males who expected higher-scored occupations were unmarried in 1972, while 43 percent of those who expected to attain lower-scored occupations were unmarried. Along the same lines, 35 percent of the white females who expected to achieve occupations with scores over forty-five were unmarried in 1972. Twenty-three percent of those who expected lower-scored occupations remained unmarried.

Trends found in adolescent occupational expectations pointed out certain race and sex differences. Forty-one percent of the black males and 57 percent of the white males expected to attain occupations with SEI scores over forty-five. Analysis for females was more complicated because of the inclusion of "housewife" as an occupational choice. Seventy percent of the black females expected occupations with SEI scores over forty-five and only three percent expected to be housewives. Fifty-three percent of the white females, on the other hand, expected to achieve higher-scored occupations and 29 percent expected to be housewives. The patterns for females indicates that many white females did not perceive an opportunity to move away from the traditional female occupation of housewife even though it might not be desired. This did not appear to be the case for black females. All groups had a smaller percentage of people expecting higher-scored occupations when compared to their aspirations.

Marriage Plans, 1968

All relationships between adolescent marriage plans and marital de-deferment were statistically significant. As can be seen in Table 4 (page 40), relationships were moderate for all sex and race categories with white females exhibiting the strongest relationship. Analysis of data indicates that those respondents who planned to marry late did so. For example, between 60 and 70 percent of the respondents who planned to marry at age twenty-three or older were unmarried in 1972. Whereas, only 11 to 15 percent of those who wanted to marry late actually married within the first two years after high school. It was also found that blacks planned to marry later that whites, and males planned to marry later than females.

Four variables were utilized to determine the relationships between adolescent educational and occupational attitudes and marital deferment. Seven of the eight possible relationships were found to be significant for whites while none of the educational or occupational attitudes proved to be significant for blacks. This indicates that adolescent achievement motives and marital deferment are bound together for whites while this does not appear to be the case for blacks. The behavior pattern of whites coincides with the theoretical and empirical writings of Bayer (1969a, 1969b). He noticed that behavior patterns of young adults were influenced by adolescent attitudes, especially educational aspirations. The reasons for blacks not behaving in the same manner as whites is unclear. It is possible that the configuration of achievement attitudes of white youth both include and reconcile marriage plans with the more obvious education and occupation orientations, whereas for black youth, the configuration is more segmented with compartmentalized achievement attitudes on the one hand and familial orientation of the other.

Trends concerning housewife as an occupational choice varied for black and white females. No black females aspired to this occupation and few expected it. On the other hand, while few white females gave housewife as an aspiration, a substantial percentage expected to be housewives. Given the preponderance of literature concerning the effect of sex role socialization on occupational choices, it appears that there is a difference between the socialization process of black and white women.

For all race and sex categories, adolescent marriage plans were found to have significant relationships with marital deferment. For this variable, white females exhibited a different pattern than was found for other race and sex categories. White females planned to marry earlier than any other group. The reason for one group acting differently than the others is unclear. One plausible explanation could be that the socialization process encourages early marriage for white females while blacks and white males are encouraged to defer marriage.

Early Adult Attitudes as Consequences

The third phase of the analysis was concerned with examining the consequences of marriage deferment on newly-formed early adult attitudes concerning education and occupations. Both aspirations and expectations were considered. Table 5 summarizes the race and sex comparisons made, and Tables 23 through 30 (Appendix A) provide more detailed, tabular representations of the findings.

Educational Aspirations, 1972

Whites, both males and females, were the only group to show a significant relationship between marital deferment and early adult educational aspirations. The relationship was stronger for females who had a "C" value of .22, while males had a "C" of .15. In general, it was found that the longer whites deferred marriage, the more they tended to aspire to college educations. For example, college aspirations for white males increased from 57 percent for those who married within the first two years after high school, to 75 percent for those who were unmarried in 1972. For white females, college aspirations increased from 49 percent for those who married earlier to 72 percent for those who were unmarried.

Over sixty percent of each race and sex category had aspirations for college educations. This is particularly interesting because it represents a slight increase in the college aspirations of each group from 1968 to 1972.

Occupational Aspirations, 1972

White males and females were the only groups to exhibit a significant relationship between marriage deferment and early adult occupational aspirations. The magnitude of the relationship was slightly greater for females as evidenced by a "C" value of .26, while males had a "C" of .21. Overall, the longer whites deferred marriage, the more they tended

TABLE 5: Contingency Coefficients Between Early Adult Attitudes and Marital Deferment[a]

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Comments
Marital Deferment by Educational Aspirations in 1972	.02 (.12)	.06 (.86)	.15* (8.34)	.22* (12.63)	The relationship between marital deferment and educational aspirations in 1972 proved to be significant for white males and females. In general, it was found that the longer whites deferred marriage the more they tended to aspire to college educations. For example, college aspirations for white males increased from 57% for those who married earliest to 75% for those who were unmarried in 1972.
Marital Deferment by Occupational Aspirations in 1972	.14 (4.69)	.20 (8.67)	.21* (16.65)	.26* (17.43)	Relationships between marital deferment and occupational aspirations were found to be significant for white males and females. For the most part, the longer whites deferred marriage the more they tended to aspire to occupations with SEI scores greater than 45. For example, 95% of the white women who were unmarried in 1972 aspired to occupations with scores greater than 45 while only 70% of those who married within the first two years after high school aspired to higher scored occupations.

TABLE 5: (continued)

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Comments
Marital Deferment by Educational Expectaions in 1972	.12 (3.64)	.20* (7.88)	.30* (35.75)	.30* (24.03)	Significant relationships were found between marital deferment and educational expectations for black and white females and for white males. In general, the longer these respondents deferred marriage the more they expected to attain a college education. For example, 45% of the black females who were unmarried in 1972 expected to attain a college education while only 21% of those who were married within the first two years of high school graduation expected college educations.
Marital Deferment by Occupational Expectaions in 1972	.19* (8.67)	.26* (13.51)	.22* (17.61)	.35* (32.72)	All relationships between marital deferment and occupational expectations were found to be significant. Analysis showed that the longer respondents deferred marriage the more they expected to attain occupations with SEI scores greater that 45. For example, 42% of the black males that were unmarried in 1972 expected to attain occupations with SEI scores over 45 while 26% of the men who married early expected occupations with the higher scores.

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[a] Chi Square statistic in parenthesis
*Significant at .05 level

to aspire to occupations with SEI scores over forty-five. The percentage of white men who aspired to occupations with scores over forty-five increased from 49 percent for those who married within two years after high school graduation to 75 percent for those who were unmarried in 1972. For white females, aspirations for higher scored occupations increased from 70 percent for those who married earliest to 94 percent for those who deferred marriage until after 1972.

Occupational aspirations for all race and sex categories were rather high. Between 54 and 80 percent of each category expected to attain occupations with SEI scores over forty-five. For both races, a higher proportion of females aspired to higher-scored occupations than males. Once again, few black or white females aspired to the occupation of "housewife".

Educational Expectations, 1972

Relationships between marriage deferment and early adult educational expectations were found to be significant for white males and females, and black females. The relationship was strongest for whites who had "C" values of .30; black females had a "C" of .20. Analysis revealed that the longer white males, white females and black females deferred marriage, the more they tended to expect college educations. For example, 21 percent of the black women who were married within the first two years after high school expected to attain college educations. The percentage increased to 45 percent for those who were unmarried in 1972. For white males the proportion of respondents who expected college educations increased from 21 percent for those who married early, to 63 percent for those who were unmarried in 1972. The proportion increased from 22 to 56 percent for white females.

Educational expectations were rather low, especially in comparison with early adult aspirations. Fifty percent of the white males expected college educations; all other groups had approximately 40 percent of the people expecting college educations. This suggests that, even though the majority of the respondents in this sample desire college educations, many of them do not perceive the opportunity to fulfill their desires.

Occupational Expectations, 1972

All relationships between marital deferment and early adult occupational expectations were found to be significant. The relationships were strongest for females in both races as evidenced by a "C" of .35 for white females and a .26 for black females. Black males had a "C" of .19 with white males having a .22. The trends for this variable indicate that the longer respondents deferred marriage the higher were their occupational expectations. For example, expectations for occupations with scores over forty-five increased from 26 percent for those black males who married earliest to 42 percent for those who were unmarried in 1972. Black females had a 24 percent increase, white males had a 29 percent increase and white females experienced a 39 percent increase in expectations from those who married earlier to those who deferred marriage until after 1972.

The data on this variable showed a significant decline in the percentage of respondents who aspired to higher-scored occupations versus the percentage who expected to attain these occupations. Between 18 and 39 percent of each race and sex category expected to attain higher-scored occupations. More whites exhibited expectations for higher-scored occupations and a smaller percentage of black males than black females expected to attain occupations with scores over forty-five. Only six percent of the black females expected to have "housewife" as an occupation, but 32 percent of the white females expected to be housewives. This is a significant increase for white females, since only six percent of them aspired to this occupation.

In this portion of the analysis four variables were utilized to investigate the consequences of marital deferment on early adult educational and occupational attitudes. Both aspirations and expectations were examined. For whites in the sample, marital deferment proved to have a significant relationship on all of the eight possible relationships. For blacks, no aspirational attitude was found to be significant, but three of the four expectation attitudes were significant. It was also found that relationships concerning expectations were stronger than they were for aspirations. These findings indicate two important patterns. First, for white respondents, early adult achievement attitudes appear to be closely tied to the marital deferment decision. This does not seem to be the case for blacks. The attitudes of the blacks concerning educational and occupational aspirations appear to be independent of marital deferment but expectation attitudes appear to be influenced by marital deferment. Secondly, since expectations had a stronger relationship with marital deferment for all groups, it appears that, as the panel participants began to mature, marital deferment had more of an influence on expectations.

As was the case in adolescence, there were differences between aspirations and expectations for all groups. This is not unexpected. Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966) point out that expectations are often lower than aspirations because they are more reflective of existing opportunities available to an individual. Analysis revealed that women had especially strong differences between occupational aspirations and expectations. This pattern is indicative of the occupational restrictions, encountered or perceived, which were pointed out by Matthews and Tiedman (1964), Tully et al. (1977) and Epstein (1970). The findings on "housewife" as an occupation help explain the difference found between aspirations and expectations for white females. While only three percent of white females aspired to the occupation of "housewife", over 30 percent expected to be housewives. This is a surprisingly large difference and further indicates how sex role socialization can work to limit a female's perception of opportunities.

Early Adult Attainments as Consequences

Educational and occupational attainments were the two variables utilized to determine the consequences of marital deferment on a young person's attainments. Table 6 provides a summary of the race and sex comparisons made for these variables and Tables 31 through 34 in Appendix A provide more details on the results of the analysis.

Educational Attainments, 1972

Relationships between marital deferment and early adult educational attainments were found to be significant for all race and sex categories. For both races, the magnitude of the relationships were strongest for females and relationships were stronger for whites than blacks. It was found that, across all sex and race categories, the longer a person deferred marriage, the higher the percentage of people attaining college

TABLE 6: Contingency Coefficients Between Early Adult Status Attainment and Marital Deferment[a]

	BLACK		WHITE		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Commemts
Marital Deferment by Educational Attainment in 1972	.16* (6.52)	.22* (9.85)	.25* (23.29)	.32* (28.17)	All relationships between marital deferment and educational attainment were significant. Analysis revealed that the longer a person deferred marriage, the higher the percentage of people attaining college educations. For example, only five percent of the black males who married earliest attained college educations whole 20% of those who were unmarried in 1972 attained college educations.
Marital Deferment by Occupational Attainment in 1972	.23* (14.04)	.42* (42.09)	.32* (40.92)	.49* (73.58)	All relationships between marital deferment and early adult occupational attainments were significant. Analysis showed that respondents who were students in 1972 had a tendency to be unmarried. For example, four percent of white females who married earliest were students while 38% of those who were unmarried were students.

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[a] Chi Square statistic in parenthesis

*Significant at .05 level

educations. For example, only five percent of the black males who were married within two years after high school graduation had attained college educations as of 1972, while 20 percent of those who were unmarried in 1972 had attained college educations. College attainment for black females increased from six percent for those who married earliest to 27 percent for those who were unmarried. The proportion of white males increased from 12 to 43 percent while white females had an increase from 12 to 47 percent.

More whites had attained college educations than blacks, but overall, the educational attainments of the respondents were rather low. The proportion of people who had attained college educations ranged from a low of 16 percent for black males to a high of 33 percent for white males.

Occupational Attainment, 1972

Relationships for marital deferment and occupational attainments proved to be significant for all race and sex categories. For both races, the relationships were strongest for females. It was found that respondents who were students in 1972 had a strong tendency to be unmarried. This trend can be seen by looking at the increase in the proportion of students in 1972 who were married versus the proportion who were unmarried. For example, only five percent of the black males who married within the first two years after high school were students while 17 percent of those who were unmarried in 1972 were students. For white females, four percent of those who married earliest were students, while 38 percent of those who were unmarried were students. The same pattern was exhibited by black females and white males.

Occupational attainments were rather low. Only five percent of the black males and six percent of the black females had attained occupations with SEI scores over forty-five. The percentage of whites who had attained higher-scored occupations was slightly higher; 15 percent of the males and 31 percent of the females held occupations with SEI scores over forty-five. These low attainments can be explained partly by the fact that the respondents were approximately 21 to 23 years old at this point, which would mean they had not had sufficient time to acquire high status occupations.

It was also noted that a higher proportion of whites were students in 1972. Twenty-seven percent of the white males and 17 percent of the white females were students, while 12 percent of the black males and 16 percent of the black females were students. Fourteen percent of the black females and 29 percent of the white females gave "housewife" as their occupation.

Analysis of data concerning the consequences of marital deferment on early adult educational and occupational attainments provided many findings. For the first time throughout the analysis, all relationships were found to be significant. This indicates that, in most cases, marriage deferment and attainments are linked. Because of the relatively young age of the panel in 1972, it is difficult to draw conclusions concerning high achievement patterns; but it was found that low educational and occupational achievement was associated with early marriage.

The main achievement input for occupational attainment was "student". It was found that there was a strong tendency for respondents who were students in 1972 to be unmarried. This is particularly important because many studies have linked education with occupational attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell and Shah, 1968). Also, because data concerning occupational attainment does not allow enough time for upward mobility patterns to emerge, it is hard to establish an occupational attainment pattern other than for the category of "student", but data on educational attainment shows clearly that marriage deferment enhances educational attainment.

For the most part, males exhibited lower achievements than females. This is an unexpected finding, especially when considering the societal value that females achieve less than males. There is a good explanation for this behavior. Duncan's (1961) SEI scheme is misleading when used for women. Certain occupations which many women hold, such as secretary and teacher, are given unrealistically high scores and do not accurately reflect the socioeconomic status of occupations. Because of this, attainments of women appear to be higher than they really are.

Summary of Findings

Analysis of this problem was conducted in four parts. The first examined the relationship between social origins and marriage deferment. In this portion of the analysis it was found that social origins had a minimal influence on marital timing of panel participants. The reason for this finding was unclear. One plausible explanation is that since participants in this study were mostly from lower and middle class families, there could be a lack of sufficient variation in social origins to allow for determination of relationships that exist between these variables.

The second portion of analysis investigated adolescent achievement attitudes and marriage plans as antecedents to marital deferment. Seven of the eight possible educational and occupational achievement attitudes were found to have a significant relationship with marital deferment for whites, while none of the relationships were significant for blacks. This finding indicates that adolescent achievement attitudes and marital deferment are bound together for whites, while the two appear to be independent for blacks.

Adolescent attitudes of females concerning occupational choices were of interest. Females, both black and white, aspired to and expected to attain traditionally female occupations. Along the same line, trends concerning aspirations and expectations of the occupation of housewife varied between black and white females. No black females had aspirations for the occupation of housewife and only three percent expected it. Few white females gave "housewife" as an aspiration, but a substantial portion of them expected to be housewives. The trends seen in these two findings indicate that females do not foresee the opportunity to enter occupations which have, in the past, been held by men but more black women perceive an opportunity to work outside of the home than white females.

The relationship between adolescent marriage plans and marriage deferment were significant for all groups. Analysis showed that, for the most part, respondents who wanted to marry late did so. It was also noted that white females planned to marry earlier than any other group. The reason for white women behaving in a different manner than the other groups was unclear. Perhaps, the socialization process which individuals are exposed to, encourages early marriage for white females while at the same time encourages blacks and white males to defer marriage.

The third phase of analysis was concerned with investigating the consequences of marital deferment on early adult educational and occupational attitudes. Marital deferment proved to have a significant relationship with all aspirational and expectational attitudes of whites. Aspiration attitudes were not significant for blacks but associations did appear for expectations. These patterns indicate that all early adult achievement attitudes appear to be closely linked to the marital deferment decision of whites. For blacks, aspirations act independently of marital deferment but expectations appear to be influenced by marital deferment.

There were sharp differences between aspirations and expectations for all groups. There were especially strong differences noticed between occupational aspirations and expectations of females. While females had fairly high early adult occupational aspirations, their expectations were rather low. The findings on "housewife" as an occupation help explain the differences that existed between aspirations and expectations of white females. Only three percent of the white females desired "housewife" as an occupation, but over 30 percent of them expected to be housewives. These patterns are indicative of the occupational restrictions which females encounter and show how sex role socialization can work to limit a female's perception of opportunities.

The final portion of the analysis examined the consequences of marriage deferment on early adult educational and occupational attainments. For the first time throughout the analysis, all race and sex relationships proved to be significant. This indicates that marriage deferment and attainments were linked for all groups. Participants were too young to provide conclusive data concerning high achievement patterns but low educational and occupational achievements were associated with early marriage. The primary occupational achievement input was "student". Overall, it was found that panel participants who were students in 1972 tended to be unmarried.

It appeared that males had lower attainments than females. This is an unexpected finding, especially when considering the societal value that females achieve less than males. There is a good explanation for this finding. Duncan's (1961) SEI scheme is often misleading when used for women. Many occupations which women often hold, such as secretary and teacher, are given unrealistically high scores and do not accurately reflect the socioeconomic status of occupations. Because of this, attainments of females can appear to be higher than they really are.

CHAPTER V

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to examine the effect of marriage deferment, within the educational and occupational achievement process, on young black and white youth. This was done by investigating, through the use of contingency tables, relationships that exist during various phases of a person's life. As is depicted in Figure 2, the analysis was organized in four parts. First, social origins were examined to determine their association with marital deferment. Secondly, adolescent attitudes concerning education, occupations and marriage plans were investigated as antecedents to marital deferment. Third, the relationship between marital deferement and newly-formed educational and occupational attitudes were studied. Lastly, associations between marriage deferment and educational and occupational attainments were analyzed.

In Chapter I a statement of the problem, along with theoretical and practical significances of the research, were delinated. In that chapter, education and career plans and marriage and family plans were developed as two major life plan areas which typically confront individuals in contemporary society. Since these two concepts form such a major portion of a person's life, it is useful to examine how they interact and/or conflict with each other. It was decided to examine the interrelationship of these two life

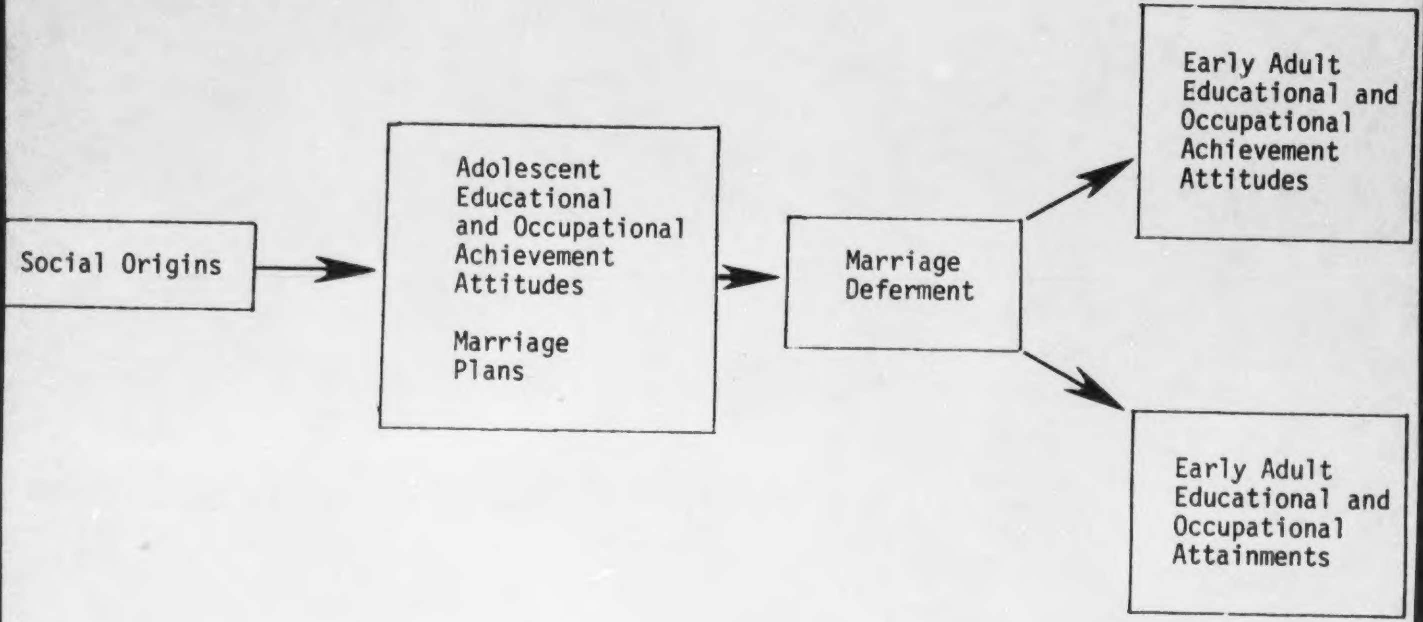
Social Origins
Adolescent Educational and Occupational Achievement Attitudes
Marriage Plans
Marriage Deferment
Early Adult Educational and Occupational Achievement Attitudes
Early Adult Educational and Occupational Attainments

FIGURE 2: Analytical Framework Relating Adolescent and Early Adult Attitudes to Marital Deferment

plan areas by using a life cycle approach.

In Chapter II previous theoretical and empirical literature concerning the life cycle concept and the status attainment process of males and females was discussed. It was noted that previous researchers have hypothesized that for those young people who defer entrance into marriage, acquiring advanced levels of education is simplified and, therefore, their opportunities to acquire higher status occupations are increased. Chapter III discussed characteristics of the sample used in this study while Chapter IV presented findings of the data.

This final chapter is designed to accomplish two primary tasks. First, theoretical implications of trends that were found during the analysis portion of the research will be discussed. Secondly, limitations of the study will be presented.

Theoretical Implications

As has been mentioned previously, this research was designed to study how marriage deferment was associated with educational and occupational attitudes and attainments of black and white rural youth. Analysis of data showed that social origins were of minimal influence on marriage deferment for both blacks and whites. This indicates that factors other than social class determine early marriage timing, at least for members of this study.

A second finding of this research was that the relationship between achievement attitudes and marriage deferment were different for whites than they were for blacks. During the life cycle phases of adolescence and early adulthood, white respondents, for the most part, exhibited significant relationships between achievement attitudes, marriage plans, actual attainments and marriage deferment. Black respondents, on the other hand, did not show any significant relationships during adolescence between achievement attitudes and marriage deferment. In early adulthood, aspirations of blacks still did not appear to be associated with marital deferment but expectations and attainments did. From these findings we can conclude that the matrix of attitudes formed during adolescence and early adulthood concerning educations and occupations are interrelated with marital deferment for whites. For blacks, the interrelationship does not appear until early adulthood.

For whites, early marriage had a depressant effect on adolescent and early adult aspirations and expectations, both educationally and occupationally. At the same time, adolescent and early adult attitudes for higher levels of education and higher status occupations were associated with later marriage. It was also found that higher levels of early adult attainments for whites, as well as continued education, were associated with later marriage. The behavior pattern of white panel participants is supportive of previous status attainment research. For example, Call and Otto (1977) found, in a study of males, that where there were early marriages there were low aspirations, and, conversely, when men were successful academically they were more likely to defer marriage. A study conducted by Treiman and Terrell (1975) pointed out that women who deferred marriage had higher expectations and were better educated.

As has been stated, the relationship between marital deferment and achievement attitudes did not appear until early adulthood for blacks and then for expectations and attainments only. Although the behavior of blacks is inconsistent with that theorized in most literature, there is a plausible explanation found in the literature. The "success-theme" that exists in American society has been discussed by many researchers (Merton, 1968; Williams, 1951). Most people agree that American society emphasizes achievement, especially occupational achievement. Because of this, American youth accept and desire a common, societal value of success. Cosby (1974) points out that most young people fall into one of two groupings concerning occupational attainment possibilities: (1) those who have a high probability of achieving high status occupations, and (2) those who have a low probability of achieving high status occupations. When the concept of the "success-theme" is combined with the concept of two groupings of occupational attainment probabilities it appears that those youth who ascribe to societies evaluation of occupations but who have a low probability of attaining high prestige occupations will have achievement attitudes that are unrealistic.

Cosby (1974) carries this line of thinking a step further. He hypothesizes that choices made by those people who have a low probibility of achieving high status occupations may have little direct relationship on their behavior. Instead he sees these attitudes as "a psychological crutch, a compensating influence for socially defined behavior in a success-oriented society" (Cosby, 1974). In other words, those people who will probably have low achievements adjust to their status within society by projecting their success into the future. Since black respondents in this sample are not only members of a minority group but also primarily from lower class families, this is one possible explanation for the inconsistency of behavior of blacks and whites.

A third implication of this research concerns the relationships between achievement attitudes and marital deferment for females. Analysis of data indicates that the depression effect of early marriage on adolescent and early adult achievement attitudes of females were equal to or, in many cases, greater than that experienced by males. After examining the data one question arises: Does early marriage act as a depressant for females or do they recognize a lack of opportunity to achieve high status occupations and, therefore, lower their expectations and marry earlier? A literature search could provide support for either of these explanations and, therefore, this is one area in which future research could be of real importance. It is the writers contention that the latter explanation is the most probable. Call and Otto (1977) hypothesized that males who do not feel they will be able to attain as much as they had desired earlier often lower their attitudes and then view marriage as an alternative goal. It is possible that females act in the same manner.

Behavior patterns found in the data indicate how this conclusion was reached. During adolescence expectations were lower than aspirations for both black and white females. During early adulthood the divergence between expectations and aspirations was slightly greater than during adolescence. It was also found that, throughout the life cycle stages examined, few females, black or white, aspired to or expected occupations which were not considered to be traditionally female. From these patterns it appears that throughout the life cycle females slowly realize that their occupational choices are limited and that their possibilities for high levels of occupational attainments are low. In a study conducted by Tully _et al_. (1977) it was found that during preadolescense, females had high and varied aspirations but as they matured their aspirations and expectations were lower and concentrated in a few areas. Featherman and Hauser (1976), Epstein (1970), Tully _et al_. (1977), and Watley and Kaplan (1971) all discuss the occupational restrictions that females are confronted with and which work to lower their possibility of high status occupational attainments. These patterns and findings indicate that many females may view marriage as an alternative to high achievement.

It was suggested in Chapter II that the decision to defer marriage for a few years could have a significant, positive effect on an individual's attainments. The findings in this study, for the most part, are supportive of this idea. Even though significant relationships did not appear until later in the life cycle for blacks, they were important for actual attainments. Although females are confronted with many barriers that work to lower their occupational attainment possibilities, there was a strong association between high educational attainment and later marriage and the only way females can enter higher status occupations is to obtain the necessary education. Marriage deferment does appear to have an enhancing effect on achievements of young people and the relationships between these two variables hold the potential for influential future research.

Limitations

As is the case with any research, there were certain limitations which should be pointed out. The data utilized in this study consisted of a panel of southern, rural youth who were primarily from lower and middle class families. Because of this the sample cannot be considered representative of characteristics and behavior found in larger, more diversified populations. The result of this limitation is that the findings cannot be generalized to all populations. Hopefully, future research will investigate the relationships between marital deferment and achievement attitudes with larger, more diversified samples.

A second limitation results from sampling techniques used. As was discussed in Chapter III, the 1968 sample was taken by returning to high schools contacted in 1966 and distributing questionnaires to all senior students present on that day. No attempt was made to locate students who were present in 1966 but who were not in school in 1968 and, therefore, they were dropped from the study. This sampling procedure excludes an entire group of youth--high school dropouts--from the study. It is possible that dropouts have different achievement attitudes and marriage patterns than those people who finish high school.

Thirdly, at the time of the last recontact panel participants were between the ages of 21-23. This is a relatively young age and does not allow the respondents sufficient time to establish upward mobility. Therefore, the data concerning educational and occupational attainments cannot be viewed as conclusive. It should be noted that within the next year, work on a fourth wave will begin. This data will provide more reliable information on the attainments of the panel members.

A final limitation concerns the use of Duncan's (1961) Socioeconomic Index to provide occupational scores for use in analysis. As was pointed out earlier, Duncan's SEI scores are often misleading when used for female occupations. Several occupations which females hold are given unrealistically high scores. For example, secretaries are given a score of 61 and teachers a 72. When these artificially high scores are averaged with other scores, the results become skewed and they appear higher than they actually are. Such occurred in this research when male occupational aspirations, expectations and attainments were compared to those of females. In some cases, women appeared to have higher attitudes than males which probably was not the case. This limitation provides the opportunity for a useful, but difficult, research undertaking.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE 7 : Parental Scoioenomic Status and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	SEI Score of 45 or less % (N)	SEI Score of over 45 % (N)	Unemployed % (N)	Total % (N)	SEI Score of 45 or less % (N)	SEI Score of over 45 % (N)	Unemployed % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School..............	15 (28)	11 (2)	100 (1)	16 (31)	24 (37)	0 (0)	50 (1)	22 (38)
Married Within Four Years After High School..............	17 (31)	17 (3)	--	17 (34)	19 (30)	33 (4)	0 (0)	20 (34)
Not Married As of 1972...............	67 (122)	72 (13)	--	68 (135)	57 (89)	67 (8)	50 (1)	58 (98)
TOTAL	99 (181)	100 (18)	100 (1)	101 (200)	100 (156)	100 (12)	100 (2)	100 (170)

$\chi^2 = 5.74$; 4df; N.S.
C = .17

No Response = 47

$\chi^2 = 5.21$; 4df; N.S.
C = .17

No Response = 31

TABLE 8 : Parental Socioeconomic Status and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	SEI Score of 45 or less	SEI Score of over 45	Unemployed	Total	SEI Score of 45 or less	SEI Score of over 45	Unemployed	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School..............	21 (51)	19 (19)	--	20 (70)	50 (73)	37 (31)	100 (1)	45 (105)
Married Within Four Years After High School..............	31 (77)	22 (22)	--	28 (99)	27 (39)	29 (24)	--	27 (63)
Not Married As of 1972..............	48 (119)	59 (60)	--	51 (179)	24 (35)	35 (29)	--	28 (64)
TOTAL	100 (247)	100 (101)	--	99 (348)	101 (147)	101 (84)	100 (1)	100 (232)

$\chi^2 = 4.10$; 2df; N.S.
C = .11

$\chi^2 = 5.44$; 4df; N.S.
C = .15

No Response = 16

No Response = 8

TABLE 9 : Father's Education and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than High School % (N)	High School or More % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than High School % (N)	High School or More % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School	16 (24)	16 (7)	16 (31)	26 (38)	16 (5)	24 (43)
Married Within Four Years After High School	21 (31)	7 (3)	18 (34)	21 (30)	13 (4)	19 (34)
Not Married As of 1972	64 (96)	77 (33)	66 (129)	53 (77)	72 (23)	57 (100)
TOTAL	101 (151)	100 (43)	100 (194)	100 (145)	100 (32)	100 (177)

Male: X^2 = 4.38; 2df; N.S.
C = .15

Female: X^2 = 3.76; 2df; N.S.
C = .14

TABLE 10: Father's Education and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than High School	High School or More	Total	Less Than High School	High School or More	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School............	24 (45)	16 (25)	20 (70)	56 (63)	35 (39)	45 (102)
Married Within Four Years After High School............	27 (51)	31 (49)	29 (100)	24 (27)	29 (33)	27 (60)
Not Married As of 1972.............	49 (91)	53 (85)	51 (176)	20 (23)	36 (40)	28 (63)
TOTAL	100 (187)	100 (159)	100 (346)	100 (113)	100 (112)	100 (225)

$\chi^2 = 3.72$; 2df; N.S.
C = .10

$\chi^2 = 10.83$; 2df; $P < .004$
C = .10

TABLE 11: Mother's Education and Marriage Deferment:
Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than High School % (N)	High School or More % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than High School % (N)	High School or More % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School	14 (20)	18 (15)	16 (35)	28 (38)	14 (6)	25 (44)
Married Within Four Years After High School	21 (29)	13 (11)	18 (40)	21 (28)	16 (7)	20 (35)
Not Married As of 1972	64 (89)	68 (56)	66 (145)	51 (70)	70 (30)	56 (100)
TOTAL	99 (138)	99 (82)	100 (220)	100 (136)	100 (43)	101 (179)

$X^2 = 2.21$; 2df; N.S.
C = .10

$X^2 = 4.87$; 2df; N.S.
C = .16

TABLE 12: Mother's Education and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than High School % (N)	High School or More % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than High School % (N)	High School or More % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School............	24 (37)	16 (30)	19 (67)	52 (50)	42 (56)	46 (106)
Married Within Four Years After High School............	27 (42)	30 (58)	29 (100)	27 (26)	26 (34)	26 (60)
Not Married As of 1972.............	48 (74)	54 (105)	52 (179)	22 (21)	32 (42)	28 (63)
TOTAL	99 (153)	100 (179)	100 (346)	101 (97)	100 (132)	100 (229)

X^2 = 4.09; 2df; N.S.
C = .11

X^2 = 3.13; 2df; N.S.
C = .12

TABLE 13: Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School.........	15 (18)	17 (22)	16 (40)	28 (24)	22 (25)	25 (49)
Married Within Four Years After High School.........	19 (23)	17 (22)	18 (45)	18 (16)	19 (21)	19 (37)
Not Married As of 1972..........	66 (78)	65 (82)	65 (160)	54 (47)	59 (66)	57 (113)
TOTAL	100 (119)	99 (126)	99 (245)	100 (87)	100 (112)	101 (199)

Male: x^2 = .32; 2df; N.S.
C = .04

Female: x^2 = .76; 2df; N.S.
C = .06

TABLE 14: Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School..........	33 (47)	12 (26)	20 (73)	60 (68)	33 (41)	46 (190)
Married Within Four Years After High School..........	30 (43)	28 (61)	29 (104)	21 (24)	31 (39)	26 (63)
Not Married As of 1972...........	37 (53)	60 (132)	51 (185)	19 (22)	35 (44)	28 (66)
TOTAL	100 (143)	100 (219)	100 (362)	100 (114)	99 (124)	100 (238)

$\chi^2 = 28.18$; 2df; $P < .001$
C = .27

$\chi^2 = 17.20$; 2df; $P < .002$
C = .26

TABLE 15: Adolescent Occupational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	SEI Score of 45 or less	SEI Score of over 45	Total	SEI Score of 45 or less	SEI Score of over 45	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School...........	15 (16)	17 (22)	16 (38)	29 (15)	24 (34)	25 (49)
Married Within Four Years After High School...........	21 (22)	14 (18)	17 (40)	15 (8)	20 (29)	19 (37)
Not Married As of 1972............	64 (67)	68 (86)	66 (153)	56 (29)	56 (81)	56 (110)
TOTAL	100 (105)	99 (126)	99 (231)	100 (52)	100 (144)	100 (196)

χ^2 = 1.81; 2df; N.S.
C = .09

χ^2 = .88; 2df; N.S.
C = .07

TABLE 16: Adolescent Occupational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES						
	MALE			FEMALE			
	SEI Score of 45 or less % (N)	SEI Score of over 45 % (N)	Total % (N)	SEI Score of 45 or less % (N)	SEI Score of over 45 % (N)	Housewife % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School........	32 (36)	16 (37)	21 (73)	55 (26)	42 (77)	67 (4)	46 (107)
Married Within Four Years After High School........	27 (30)	29 (68)	28 (98)	23 (11)	27 (49)	33 (2)	26 (62)
Not Married As of 1972.........	41 (45)	56 (133)	51 (178)	21 (10)	31 (56)	--	28 (66)
TOTAL	100 (111)	101 (238)	100 (349)	99 (47)	100 (182)	100 (6)	100 (235)

x^2 = 13.88; 2df; P <.001
C = .20

x^2 = 5.21; 4df; N.S.
C = .15

TABLE 17: Adolescent Educational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School..........	16 (23)	17 (17)	16 (40)	26 (31)	22 (18)	25 (49)
Married Within Four Years After High School..........	21 (31)	15 (15)	19 (46)	22 (26)	15 (12)	19 (38)
Not Married As of 1972...........	63 (93)	67 (66)	65 (159)	52 (61)	63 (51)	56 (113)
TOTAL	100 (147)	99 (98)	100 (245)	100 (118)	100 (81)	100 (199)

$x^2 = 1.30$; 2df; N.S.

$x^2 = 2.71$; 2df; N.S.
C = .12

TABLE 18: Adolescent Educational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES					
	MALE			FEMALE		
	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)	Less Than College % (N)	College % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School..........	31 (56)	9 (17)	20 (73)	57 (87)	26 (23)	46 (110)
Married Within Four Years After High School..........	30 (54)	27 (50)	29 (104)	21 (32)	36 (31)	26 (63)
Not Married As of 1972...........	39 (69)	64 (117)	51 (186)	22 (33)	38 (33)	28 (66)
TOTAL	100 (179)	100 (184)	100 (363)	100 (152)	100 (87)	100 (239)

Male: $\chi^2 = 33.31$; 2df; $P < .001$
C = .29

Female: $\chi^2 = 21.14$; 2df; $P < .0001$
C = .29

TABLE 19: Adolescent Occupational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS						
	MALE			FEMALE			
	SEI Score of 45 or less	SEI Score of over 45	Total	SEI Score of 45 or less	SEI Score of over 45	Housewife	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School.........	15 (19)	18 (16)	17 (35)	24 (12)	26 (35)	33 (2)	26 (49)
Married Within Four Years After High School.........	18 (22)	15 (13)	17 (35)	22 (11)	19 (25)	17 (1)	19 (37)
Not Married As of 1972..........	67 (83)	67 (58)	67 (141)	55 (28)	55 (74)	50 (3)	55 (105)
TOTAL	100 (124)	100 (87)	100 (211)	100 (51)	100 (134)	100 (6)	100 (191)

X^2 = .53; 2df; N.S.
C = .05

X^2 = .45; 4df; N.S.
C = .05

TABLE 20: Adolescent Occupational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES						
	MALE			FEMALE			
	SEI Score of 45 or less % (N)	SEI Score of over 45 % (N)	Total % (N)	SEI Score of 45 or less % (N)	SEI Score of over 45 % (N)	Housewife % (N)	Total % (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School........	31 (41)	10 (17)	19 (58)	58 (23)	34 (42)	61 (42)	46 (107)
Married Within Four Years After High School........	27 (36)	30 (54)	29 (90)	20 (8)	31 (39)	23 (16)	27 (63)
Not Married As of 1972	43 (57)	60 (108)	53 (165)	23 (9)	35 (44)	16 (11)	27 (64)
TOTAL	101 (134)	100 (179)	101 (313)	101 (40)	100 (125)	100 (69)	100 (234)

$\chi^2 = 23.31$; 2 df; P <.0001
C = .26

$\chi^2 = 17.05$; 4df; P <.0019
C = .26

TABLE 21: Adolescent Marriage Plans and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Ages 17-20	Ages 21-22	Ages 23 and Over	Total	Ages 17-20	Ages 21-22	Ages 23 and Over	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School	59 (10)	14 (5)	13 (24)	16 (39)	44 (19)	29 (16)	13 (16)	24 (48)
Married Within Four Years After High School	18 (3)	22 (8)	18 (35)	19 (46)	19 (8)	25 (14)	16 (26)	19 (38)
Not Married As of 1972	24 (4)	64 (23)	69 (133)	65 (160)	37 (16)	46 (26)	70 (69)	56 (111)
TOTAL	100 (17)	100 (36)	100 (192)	100 (245)	100 (43)	100 (56)	99 (98)	99 (197)

$\chi^2 = 26.45$; 4df; P <.0001
C = .31

$\chi^2 = 20.91$; 4df; P <.0001
C = .31

TABLE 22: Adolescent Marriage Plans and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Ages 17-20	Ages 21-22	Ages 23 and Over	Total	Ages 17-20	Ages 21-22	Ages 23 and Over	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Married Within Two Years After High School........	44 (22)	25 (28)	11 (21)	20 (71)	68 (80)	30 (25)	15 (6)	46 (111)
Married Within Four Years After High School........	32 (16)	29 (33)	28 (54)	20 (103)	19 (23)	37 (30)	25 (10)	26 (63)
Not Married As of 1972.........	24 (12)	46 (52)	62 (120)	51 (184)	13 (15)	33 (27)	60 (24)	28 (66)
TOTAL	100 (50)	100 (113)	101 (195)	100 (358)	100 (118)	100 (82)	100 (40)	100 (240)

$\chi^2 = 36.03$; 4df; $P < .0001$
C = .30

$\chi^2 = 55.74$; 4df; $P < .0001$
C = .43

TABLE 23: Early Adult Educational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Less Than College......	36 (14)	33 (15)	35 (56)	35 (85)	41 (20)	32 (12)	35 (40)	36 (72
College................	64 (25)	67 (31)	65 (104)	65 (160)	59 (29)	68 (26)	65 (74)	64 (129
TOTAL	100 (39)	100 (46)	100 (160)	100 (245)	100 (49)	100 (38)	100 (114)	100 (201

Male: χ^2 = .12; 2df; N.S.
C = .02

Female: χ^2 = .86; 2df; N.S.
C = .07

No Response = 2

TABLE 24: Early Adult Educational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Less Than College......	43 (31)	31 (32)	25 (46)	30 (109)	51 (57)	30 (19)	28 (18)	39 (94)
College.................	57 (41)	69 (70)	75 (140)	70 (251)	49 (54)	70 (44)	72 (47)	61 (145)
TOTAL	100 (72)	100 (102)	100 (186)	100 (360)	100 (111)	100 (63)	100 (65)	100 (239)

Male: $\chi^2 = 8.34$; 2df; $P < .0155$
C = .15

Female: $\chi^2 = 12.63$; 2df; $P < .0018$
C = .22

No Response = 4

No Response = 1

TABLE 25: Early Adult Occupational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
SEI Score of 45 or less............	53 (21)	58 (26)	41 (65)	46 (112)	37 (18)	13 (5)	28 (32)	27 (55)
SEI Score of Over 45...............	48 (19)	42 (19)	59 (93)	54 (131)	61 (30)	84 (32)	72 (82)	72 (144)
Housewife..............	--	--	--	--	2 (1)	3 (1)	--	1 (2)
TOTAL	100 (40)	100 (45)	100 (158)	100 (243)	100 (49)	100 (38)	100 (11[illegible]	100 (201)

x^2 = 4.69; 2df; N.S.
C = .14

x^2 = 8.67; 4df; N.S.
C = .20

No Response = 4

TABLE 26: Early Adult Occupational Aspirations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)
SEI Score of 45 or less..........	51 (37)	33 (33)	25 (46)	32 (116)	22 (24)	8 (5)	6 (4)	14 (33
SEI Score of Over 45	49 (35)	67 (68)	75 (139)	68 (242)	70 (76)	86 (54)	94 (59)	80 (189
Housewife	--	--	--	--	8 (9)	6 (4)	--	6 (13
TOTAL	100 (72)	100 (101)	100 (185)	100 (358)	100 (109)	100 (63)	99 (63)	100 (235

$\chi^2 = 16.65$; 2df; $P < .0002$
C = .21

$\chi^2 = 17.43$; 4df; $P < .0016$
C = .26

No Response = 6

No Response = 5

TABLE 27 : Early Adult Educational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)
Less Than College......	74 (29)	66 (29)	58 (93)	62 (151)	79 (37)	58 (22)	55 (62)	61 (121)
College	26 (10)	34 (15)	42 (66)	38 (91)	21 (10)	42 (16)	45 (50)	39 (76)
TOTAL	100 (39)	100 (44)	100 (159)	100 (242)	100 (47)	100 (38)	100 (112)	100 (197)

$\chi^2 = 3.64$; 2df; N.S.
C = .12

$\chi^2 = 7.88$; 2df; $P < .0195$
C = .20

No Response = 5

No Response = 4

TABLE 28: Early Adult Educational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Less Than College......	79 (56)	51 (52)	37 (68)	49 (176)	78 (85)	51 (31)	44 (29)	61 (145
College	21 (15)	49 (50)	63 (115)	51 (180)	22 (24)	49 (30)	56 (37)	39 (91
TOTAL	100 (71)	100 (102)	100 (183)	100 (356)	100 (109)	100 (61)	100 (66)	100 (236

χ^2 = 35.75; 2df; P <.0001
C = .30

χ^2 = 24.03; 2df; P < .0001
C = .30

No Response = 8

No Response = 4

TABLE 29: Early Adult Occupational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)
SEI Score of 45 or less..........	74 (28)	80 (35)	53 (91)	64 (154)	63 (30)	42 (15)	42 (46)	47 (91)
SEI Score of Over 45.............	26 (10)	20 (9)	42 (66)	36 (85)	31 (15)	44 (16)	55 (61)	47 (92)
Housewife............	--	--	--	--	6 (3)	14 (5)	3 (3)	6 (11)
TOTAL	100 (38)	100 (44)	100 (157)	100 (239)	100 (48)	100 (36)	100 (110)	100 (194)

$x^2 = 8.67$; 2df; $P < .0131$
C = .19

$x^2 = 13.51$; 4df; $P < .0090$
C = .26

No Response = 8

No Response = 7

TABLE 30: Early Adult Occupational Expectations and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)
SEI Score of 45 or less..........	67 (49)	48 (48)	38 (69)	47 (166)	17 (19)	11 (7)	17 (11)	15 (37)
SEI Score of Over 45.............	33 (24)	52 (53)	62 (112)	53 (189)	38 (42)	54 (34)	77 (50)	53 (126)
Housewife.............	--	--	--	--	45 (50)	35 (22)	6 (4)	32 (76)
TOTAL	100 (73)	100 (101)	100 (181)	100 (355)	100 (111)	100 (63)	100 (65)	100 (239)

$\chi^2 = 17.61$; 2df; $P < .0002$
C = .22

$\chi^2 = 32.72$; 4df; $P < .0001$
C = .35

No Response = 9

No Response = 1

TABLE 31: Early Adult Educational Attainment and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)
Less Than College......	95 (38)	89 (41)	80 (127)	84 (206)	94 (46)	84 (32)	73 (81)	80 (159)
College.................	5 (2)	11 (5)	20 (32)	16 (39)	6 (3)	16 (6)	27 (30)	20 (39)
TOTAL	100 (40)	100 (46)	100 (159)	100 (245)	100 (49)	100 (38)	100 (111)	100 (198)

$\chi^2 = 6.54$; 2df; $P < .0380$
C = .16

$\chi^2 = 9.85$; 2df; $P < .0073$
C = .22

No Response = 2

No Response = 3

TABLE 32: Early Adult Educational Attainment and Marriage Deferment:
Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)	Married Within Two Years After High School % (N)	Married Within Four Years After High School % (N)	Not Married As of 1972 % (N)	Total % (N)
Less Than College......	88 (63)	71 (74)	57 (105)	67 (242)	88 (98)	65 (41)	53 (35)	73 (174)
College................	13 (9)	29 (30)	43 (80)	33 (119)	12 (13)	35 (22)	47 (31)	28 (66)
TOTAL	101 (72)	100 (104)	100 (185)	100 (361)	100 (111)	100 (63)	100 (66)	100 (240)

Male: x^2 = 23.29; 2df; P< .0001
C = .25

Female: x^2 = 28.17; 2df; P< .0001
C = .32

No Response = 3

TABLE 33: Early Adult Occupational Attainment and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Blacks

	BLACKS							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
SEI Score of 45 or less	78 (31)	85 (39)	69 (109)	73 (179)	51 (25)	47 (18)	46 (51)	47 (94)
SEI Score of Over 45	10 (4)	7 (3)	3 (5)	5 (2)	4 (2)	8 (3)	9 (10)	6 (15)
Student	5 (2)	2 (1)	17 (27)	12 (30)	6 (3)	3 (1)	24 (27)	16 (31)
Unemployed	8 (3)	7 (3)	11 (17)	9 (23)	12 (6)	11 (4)	20 (22)	16 (32)
Housewife	--	--	--	--	27 (13)	32 (12)	--	14 (25)[a]
TOTAL	100 (40)	100 (46)	100 (158)	100 (244)	100 (49)	101 (38)	101 (112)	100 (197)

Male: $x^2 = 14.04$; 6df; $P < .0292$
$C = .23$

Female: $x^2 = 42.09$; 8df; $P < .0001$
$C = .42$

[a] Two women did not give their date of marriage and, therefore, could not be used in this portion of the analysis.

No Response = 3

No Response = 4

TABLE 34: Early Adult Occupational Attainment and Marriage Deferment: Sex Comparisons for Whites

	WHITES							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total	Married Within Two Years After High School	Married Within Four Years After High School	Not Married As of 1972	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
SEI Score of 45 or less...........	71 (52)	62 (64)	47 (87)	56 (203)	21 (23)	16 (10)	20 (13)	19 (46
SEI Score of Over 45..............	16 (12)	21 (22)	10 (19)	15 (53)	26 (29)	37 (23)	33 (22)	31 (74
Student.................	8 (6)	17 (18)	40 (75)	27 (99)	4 (4)	19 (12)	38 (25)	17 (41
Unemployed.............	4 (3)	--	3 (5)	2 (8)	1 (1)	2 (1)	9 (6)	3 (8
Housewife	--	--	--	--	49 (54)	26 (16)	--	29 (70
TOTAL	99 (73)	100 (104)	100 (186)	100 (363)	101 (111)	100 (62)	100 (62)	100 (239

x^2 = 40.92; 6df; P< .0001
C = .32

x^2 = 73.58; 8df P< .0001
C = .49

No Response = 1

No Response = 1

VITA

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Birth:	Vallejo, California August 5, 1946
Parents:	Billy and Bernice Sanchez

Formal Education:

Bachelor Degree: (1974)	Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas. Major in Marketing.
Masters Degree: (Expected Dec. 1978)	Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas. Major in Sociology.

Employment:

December 1977-present	Research Assistant, Department of Rural Sociology, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas.
January 1975-September 1977	Sales Representative, Exxon Co. USA, Houston, Texas.
September 1972-December 1974	Student Worker, Department of Civil Engineering, Texas A&M University College Station, Texas.
September 1967-September 1971-	Secretary, Department of Drama and Speech, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, Texas.